

# **A Stroll on a Linguistic Tightrope:**

## **A Study of Urban Israeli Palestinians' Language Attitudes and Reported Usage**

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## Abstract

Israeli Palestinians have since the establishment of the state of Israel in many ways been standing with one foot in each camp. This thesis explores to what degree this complex socio-political situation is reflected in their attitudes towards, and reported usage of the codes in their linguistic repertoire, with particular focus on Arabic: *fuṣḥā* and Hebrew: Ashkenazi Hebrew (AH) and Mizrahi Hebrew (MH). Israel's language policies lead to Hebrew playing the role as a high variety for many Israeli Palestinians, a role traditionally filled by *fuṣḥā* among Arabic speakers. The thesis further explores how the Arabic diglossic language situation influences their language attitudes and reported usage.

I assumed that the general attitudes towards *fuṣḥā* are positive, it being a link to their Arab and/or Palestinian identity, culture and history. I further assumed that the attitudes towards Hebrew are generally negative as it is the language of the 'superior other', while at the same time it plays an important role for the Israeli Arabs as it is the language of the state.

I found that although most of the informants report to mix Hebrew lexical items into their Arabic speech, many express a wish not to mix. However they explain their relatively frequent mixing with that they can only find the Arabic equivalent in *fuṣḥā*, and that the usage of *fuṣḥā* lexical items often is considered strange as it makes the style more formal. The use of *fuṣḥā* is thus considered a marked choice in many contexts, also where it would be the normal code choice in most Arab countries, such as when lecturing.

Hebrew, both MH and AH has prestige in certain contexts. The speakers report to often choose to use AH, MH and *fuṣḥā* intentionally in order to make salient different elements of their identity, be it Israeli or Palestinian/Arab, depending on the context, and on what they wish for the particular interaction. In this way we see that the complex socio-political situation of the Israeli Palestinians and the Arabic diglossia has a clear impact on their language attitudes and reported usage.

# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 The project

In the course of my studies of the Arabic and Hebrew languages, during which I have had the chance to live in both Israel and Arab countries, I have grown curious about how the Arab minority in Israel value the different and often conflicting elements of the Israeli and the Arab/Palestinian culture and society, particularly in the light of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Arabs in Israel are descendents of those who stayed behind and obtained Israeli citizenship after Israel was established in 1948, and this group has in many ways, since then, been standing with one foot in each camp. Amin Maalouf argues that identity cannot be divided and that it is no contradiction in having an identity consisting of many elements. Even so, one cannot help wondering how the Israeli Arabs deal with the seemingly conflicting elements of their identity.

Taking part in a course at the University of Oslo taught by Professor Gunvor Mejdell, called “ Diglossia and Linguistic Variation” I decided to make use of sociolinguistic approaches in order to find answers to my questions. In Israel, Hebrew is the main language of instruction in higher education and this leads to Hebrew playing the role as high variety for many Israeli Arabs, a role traditionally filled by *fushā* in Arab countries. Based on this I assumed that this group switches frequently between Arabic and Hebrew. Thus, I set out to undertake a fieldwork in Israel’s ‘mixed’ cities of Haifa and Jaffa in order to study their language usage with focus on code-switching.

Soon after I arrived to the field, I noted that the people I spoke with expressed a wish to speak Arabic without the usage of Hebrew lexical items. They explained their relatively frequent mixing with that they could only find the Arabic equivalent in *fushā*, and claimed that the usage of *fushā* lexical items often is considered strange and more formal, compared to the more common Hebrew lexical items. This led me to shifting focus from code-switching to language attitudes towards and reported usage of Hebrew and Arabic and their varieties, plus English as well as code-switching between the mentioned varieties.

The aim of this thesis is thus to explore to what degree Urban Israeli Palestinians’ complex socio-political situation is reflected in their attitudes towards, and reported usage of the codes in their linguistic repertoire, and further how the Arabic diglossic language situation influences their language attitudes and usage.

## **1.2 Outline of the thesis.**

In chapter Two, I present the Arab minority's socio-political, linguistic, demographic and geographical situation. Here I also present the two cities where I did my fieldwork, Haifa and Jaffa. In chapter Three, I address sociolinguistic theories and models relevant for this thesis, as well as relevant research on the subject. I will also present my hypothesis and research questions here. In chapter Four, I discuss the methodology used to collect the data for the thesis, and give a presentation of the interviewees. In chapter Five, I present my findings and discuss these in light of the research questions. In chapter Six, I present a summary of the findings and my conclusion.



## 1.3 Transcription of Hebrew and Arabic

### 1.3.1 The Arabic varieties

**Table 1. Arabic transcription system - consonants ( EALL)**

Arabic script	Standard Arabic, <i>fuṣḥā</i>	Urban Palestinian dialect, <i>‘āmmiyya</i> <sup>1 2</sup>
أ, ع	ʾ	
ب	b	
ت	t	
ث	ṭ	t, s <sup>3</sup>
ج	j	j <sup>4</sup>
ح	ḥ	
خ	x	
د	d	
ذ	ḏ	d, z
ر	r	
ز	z	
س	s	
ش	š	
ص	ṣ	
ض	ḍ	
ط	ṭ	
ظ	ẓ	
ع	ʿ	
غ	ġ	
ف	f	
ق	q	ʾ, q <sup>5</sup>
ك	k	
ل	l	
م	m	
ن	n	
ه	h	
و	w	
ي	y	

<sup>1</sup> I present only the deviations from *fuṣḥā* here.

<sup>2</sup> Final consonant clusters are avoided in Palestinian *‘āmmiyya* by a helping vowel. I have used a superscripted /<sup>e</sup>/ to mark this. An example of this taken from my material is *al- Quds* (Arabic: Jerusalem) pronounced as *il- ‘ud<sup>e</sup>s*.

<sup>3</sup> The sound ṭ is often realized as /s/ in borrowings from *fuṣḥā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *jīm* is not affricate in Palestinian *‘āmmiyya*.

<sup>5</sup> The sound /q/ is realized in borrowings from *fuṣḥā*.

**Table 2. Arabic transcription system (vowels, diphthongs) EALL**

Arabic script	Standard Arabic <i>fuṣḥā</i>
ا	ā
و	ū
ي	ī
—	a
—	u
—	i
يَ	ay
وَ	aw
ة	a

The following vowels come in addition in Palestinian ‘*āmmiyya* :

‘*Imāla*’: the raising of word final a > e.

An unstressed short /a/ is typically reduced to *schwa* /ə/: a short neutral vowel sound.

Long /ē/, and /ō/ are reflexes of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/.

### 1.3.2. The Hebrew varieties

The two Hebrew varieties Ashkenazi Hebrew (AH) and Mizrahi Hebrew (MH)<sup>6</sup> are presented separate in Table 3 in order to show the difference in pronunciation of the sounds. In MH the sounds ה (het) and ע (‘ayn) are fully realized, and the ר (resh) is thrilled. In AH, the letter ‘ayn is realized as a glottal stop /ʔ/ or omitted altogether. The letter het is realized as /ch/ and the letter resh is uvular (c.f. 3.6).

In modern spoken Hebrew there are generally five vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

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<sup>6</sup> The term ‘Mizrahi’ comes from the Hebrew word for East *mizrach* and refers to Jews descending from the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia and Caucasus. The term ‘Ashkenazi’ literally means ‘German Jew’ but refers to Jews descending from Europe.

**Table 3. Hebrew transcription system**

Hebrew script	Names of the letters	AH	MH
א	alef	a	a / ' <sup>7</sup>
ב	bet	b	b
ג	gimel	g	g
ד	dalet	d	d
ה	he	h	h
ו	vav	v	v
ז	zayin	z	z
ח	chet (ḥet)	ch	ḥ
ט	tet	t	t
י	yod	y	y
כ	kaf,khaf	k/kh	k/kh
ל	lamed	l	l
מ	mem	m	m
נ	nun	n	n
ס	samech	s	s
ע	ayn (‘ayn)	a	‘
פ	pe,fe	p/f	p/f
צ	tzadik	tz	tz
ק	kof	k	k
ר	resh	r	R <sup>7</sup>
ש	sin, shin	s/sh	s/sh
ת	tav	t	t/ṭ

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<sup>7</sup> I have used a capital R to mark the thrilled *resh*.

## Chapter Two: Background

In the following I will give an overview of the political, social, linguistic as well as the historical, geographical and demographical reality of the Arab minority in Israel. I will begin by discussing the challenges linked to the various terms used in referring to this group. In 2.2, I give an overview of the socio-political situation of the Israeli Arab minority, and some of the challenges they are faced with. In 2.3, I present the linguistic situation in Israel, and in 2.4, I will give a presentation of the Arab minority's demographical and geographical situation in Israel in general, before introducing the two cities in which I conducted my fieldwork, Haifa and Jaffa.

### 2.1 A minority in its country, the majority of the region

One of the first challenges I met in the course of this study was simply how to name this group, and since I will be referring to them rather often throughout the rest of this thesis, I find it useful to start this chapter by discussing the various terms used to label the Arab minority in Israel.

Among the members of the Arab minority in Israel one finds those who prefer the label 'Palestinian', '1948 Arab', 'Israeli Palestinian' or 'Israeli Arab'. The term '1948 Arab' is claimed by some members of the group to be the most political correct term<sup>8</sup>, as it refers directly to the Arabs who stayed behind when the state of Israel was created in 1948, and obtained Israeli citizenship. According to the "Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel" (Smootha 2004:94), it has since 1976 been an increase in the Arab minority's reported usage of the labels 'Palestinian in Israel' and 'Israeli Palestinian' and a decrease in the reported usage of the labels 'Israeli Arab', 'Israeli' and 'Arab' when referring to themselves. It has also been a decrease in the reported usage of the terms 'Palestinian Arab' and 'Palestinian' from 32.9% in 1976 to 8.7% in 2004. In 2004 it was divided almost equally between those who identify themselves as 'Palestinian in Israel' and 'Israeli Palestinian' (45,6%) and those who identify themselves as 'Israeli Arab', 'Israeli' and 'Arab' (45,7%). It should be noted that the label '1948 Arab' was not an option in the survey. The Jewish majority<sup>9</sup> mostly refer to the Arab minority as 'Israeli Arabs'.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1065148.html> ( 01.10.2009)

<sup>9</sup> This concerns Zionist Jews in particular. By Zionist I mean those who advocate that Israel should be a Jewish state and not a state for all its citizens.

When speaking with three of my informants on different occasions about how they refer to themselves in meeting with people from other Arab countries, one of them, a man in his fifties from Jaffa, said he had answered on the question about his origin while visiting Egypt: “I am from Jaffa”. A woman in her twenties, also from Jaffa, told me, when talking about her Jordanian in-laws: “They know I am Israeli, not from Jordan, that is for sure, or Palestinian. They say that I am ‘48 Arab’. So, they know I am not from Jordan nor Palestine nor any Arab country” As I asked a third informant, also a woman in her 20’s, about the origin of the other participants at a workshop in Germany she had taken part in, she reeled off the different countries, and as she finished, I said “and you, from Israel”. At this point she stopped unpacking in her room, came out to the living room where I was sitting and smiled at me, “No, Cecilie, I represented Palestine”. It seems to me that no matter how one chooses, consciously or unconsciously, to refer to this group, there will always be someone who interprets it as a political statement of one sort or the other. Of those who identify as ‘Israeli’, the Druze and the Beduins seem to be in a majority. It seems, however, to be fewer and fewer who are comfortable with referring to themselves as ‘Israeli Arabs’, and more and more who identify themselves as being a Palestinian by nationality but with Israeli citizenship. Based on this, but nevertheless with the fear of forcing an unwanted identity on any member of this group, I will refer to this group by the terms ‘1948 Arabs’, ‘Israeli Palestinians’, ‘Israeli Arabs’ or ‘the Arab minority in Israel’.

## **2.2 “ My state is at war with my nation”**

The Israeli Palestinians have, since the Israeli state was established, in many ways found themselves positioned between the two cultures, societies and identities; the Israeli and the Palestinian. One might say that this group is standing with one foot in each camp.

From the establishment of Israel in 1948 up until 1966, the Arab minority lived under very discriminating restrictions and rules. Today, they own Israeli citizenship and have in theory, although far from it in practice, the same rights as Israel’s Jewish citizens. This group does not include the Palestinians of East Jerusalem who own the blue identity card, which gives them, again in theory but not in practice, all rights except the right to vote in national elections.

I mentioned above that it is among the Druze and the Beduins, one finds most of those who identify as Israelis. In this context it should be noted that many scholars claim that the Israeli state has attempted to split the Arab minority, creating minorities within the minority. The Druze, for example, have been given a separate educational curriculum. They are also

obliged to do military service. Sigvartsen (2007) argues in the report “Okkupasjon av Golanhøydene: Diskriminering og Motstand” that the Israeli state consciously has manipulated forth a Druze identity, undermining their close link to the Muslim and Palestinian community, in order to create a loyal minority group within the state, and as such making the annexing of land easier. They have however, not succeeded in doing so with the Druze in the Golan, whom mostly identify as Syrians. The majority refused Israeli citizenship offered to them when Israel annexed the Golan in 1981. They now own an identity card saying ‘nationality undefined’.

The Arab minority are, in many aspects, treated as second grade citizens in Israel. There are several reports produced by Israeli NGO’s, as ACRI and Adalah<sup>10</sup>, bearing witness to continued and increased racism from the Israeli society and state against this group in the fields of land purchase, housing market, job market, as well as harassments at the airport’s security checks to mention a few. The Israeli Palestinians are not obliged to do military service, and a project called ‘Civic Service’ was initiated in 2007 to give this group an alternative to the military service. This is a one-year social service which, according to the Israeli state, will give the Israeli Palestinians the same advantages as one gets by doing military service. This project has been subjected to many debates and among the arguments of those in favour is that if one wishes to get the advantages of the state one has to contribute. The main argument of those against Civic service is: one day in the Arab community, the next day at a checkpoint, forced to harass their own ‘brethren’.

It is claimed by several Israeli Jewish officials that the Arab minority in Israel represents a ‘demographic threat’ to the Israeli state’s existence. Among those is Benjamin Netanyahu, current Prime Minister of Israel and the leader of the rightist political party ‘Likud’. Speaking at the annual Herzliya Conference on Security<sup>11</sup> in 2003, he claimed that Israel’s ‘real problem’ is not the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, but the ‘Israeli Arabs’<sup>12</sup>.

The trust between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority has been weakened since the second Intifada. The Arab minority did not engage actively in the first Intifada, although they supported it morally and financially (Amara and Spolsky 1993:1). At the beginning of the second intifada in 2000 though, twelve Israeli Palestinians and one Palestinian from Gaza

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<sup>10</sup> ACRI: The Association for Civil Rights in Israel. Adalah: The Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel.

<sup>11</sup> ”The Herzlia Conference on the Balance of Israel's National Strength and Security” is an annual meeting between Israeli and international leaders.

[http://www.herzliyaconference.org/Eng/\\_Articles/Article.asp?CategoryID=86&ArticleID=18](http://www.herzliyaconference.org/Eng/_Articles/Article.asp?CategoryID=86&ArticleID=18) (01.10.2009)

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=373225> (01.10.2009)

were killed in a confrontation with Israeli police during a demonstration in support of the Palestinian uprising. This incident, which is known as 'The October 2000 events', became a turning point for many Arabs in Israel, and the trust between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority has since then weakened, as is evident in several Israeli NGO- reports<sup>13</sup>.

The war on Gaza in December 2008 - January 2009, contributed to widen the gap further between the two groups. During the war, the Israeli Arab political parties arranged demonstrations against Israel's attacks on Gaza, and Ahmad Tibi, the leader of the Israeli Arab political party Ta'al<sup>14</sup>, called on the government to "immediately halt the crime in the Gaza strip"<sup>15</sup>.

The Akka Riots in October 2008 is yet another example of incidents which has contributed to intensifying the tension between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority in Israel. The riots started during the most important holiday of the Jewish calendar, Yom Kippur<sup>16</sup>, when an Arab man drove his car into his neighbourhood in the old city of Akka, a mixed city of Arabs and Jews located in the North of Israel. This neighbourhood had traditionally been Arab, but when a Yeshiva, a Jewish religious school, was established there a few years earlier, it became a more mixed neighbourhood. Jewish youth were provoked by his driving and attacked him, and the incident led hundreds of Arab and Jewish youth clashing in the old city of Akka. The riots lasted for four to five days but did not spread to other parts of the country. However, the gravity of the riots, together with the tension and the risk of the conflict spreading to other parts of the country lead the Israeli President Shimon Peres to undertake mediating activity together with Jewish and Muslim religious leaders.

Politically, the Israeli Arabs are represented by several parties, and the largest Arab Israeli political parties are called 'Balad', 'Hadash' and 'UAL' (United Arab List)<sup>17</sup>. 'Balad' means 'country' or 'town' in Arabic, and is an acronym of the party's Hebrew name '*Brit le'umit demokratit*'. In Arabic it is called '*Al-tajammu' al-waṭanī al-dimuqrāṭī*' and in English 'National Democratic Assembly'. 'Hadash' means 'new' in Hebrew and is an acronym of its

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<sup>13</sup> Among them is ACRI's Annual Report 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Ta'al is a two-man party made up of Ahmad Tibi and Mahmud Asad. Ta'al is an acronym of its Hebrew name *Tnu'a 'aravit le-hitchadshut*. In Arabic it is called '*Al-ḥaraka al-'arabiyya al- taḡyīr*' and in English 'Arab Movement for Renewal'.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1050412.html> (01.10.2009)

<sup>16</sup> During Yom Kippur, known in English as 'Day of Atonement' Jews fast in a 25-hours period and spend most of this time in the Synagogue, praying. According to Jewish law, driving is strictly forbidden during Yom Kippur and may provoke reactions as stone throwing and the like. It is however not illegal according to Israeli Law.

<sup>17</sup> UAL is better known as Ra'am in Hebrew, which is an acronym of the name in Hebrew: *Reshima 'aravit me'uchedet*.

Hebrew name '*Ha-chazit ha-demokratit le-shalom vele-shivion*'. In Arabic it is called '*Al-Jabha al-dimuqrāṭiyya lil-salām wal-musāwā*', and in English 'The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality'. UAL's name in Arabic is '*Al-qā'ima al-'arabiyya al-muwahhada*'. On the political agenda of all three parties one finds the idea that Israel should be a democratic state for all its citizens, as opposed to being defined as a Jewish state, as it is today. The former Member of Knesset (MK) and chairman of the Arab political party Balad, Azmi Bishara is known to be an important advocate of this view. Despite the existence of these parties aimed at the Israeli Arab population, their popularity amongst this group is not very high. A survey undertaken prior to the election to the 17<sup>th</sup> Knesset in 2006 showed that 48% of the Israeli Arab voters said they would vote for one of the Zionist parties, as opposed to the 2003 election where only 30% reported the same. Among these, 33% reported they would vote for the Labour party<sup>18</sup>. One reason for this relatively high number of Israeli Arabs reporting to vote for Labor Party in 2006 elections may have been that the party's chairman, Amir Peretz, was considered to be a strong representative for Israeli Palestinians' interests. In these elections, Balad and Hadash ended up with 3 members of Knesset (MK) each while UAL-Ta'al got 4 MKs<sup>19</sup>.

Prior to the 2009 election, the Central Election Committee (CEC) decided that the Arab political parties 'UAL-Ta'al' and 'Balad' should be disqualified due to what they judged as 'disloyalty to the Israeli state', however, the Israeli Supreme court overturned CEC's decision<sup>20</sup>. In the 18<sup>th</sup> Knesset Ra'am-Ta'al and Hadash has each 4 MKs while Balad has 3 MKs. The Arab Israeli parties have up until today never been in government and no observers consider it likely that any of them will be in the foreseeable future. This might be an influencing factor explaining why these parties get a relatively low rating in elections among the Arab minority. Some also argue that instead of being many small parties with very similar agenda, they should fuse into one Israeli Arab party, and thus they would avoid taking votes from each other.

Throughout history, there has not been any significant cooperation between the Israeli Palestinian leaders and the PLO. The case of the 1948 Arabs has not been high on the agenda of neither the PLO nor the PA. Even though referring to them as their 'Arab brethren of

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-3184534.00.html> (01.10.2009)

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.knesset.gov.il/elections17/eng/Results/main\\_results\\_eng.asp](http://www.knesset.gov.il/elections17/eng/Results/main_results_eng.asp) (01.10.2009)

<sup>20</sup> <http://haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1057497.html> (01.10.2009)



1948', the PLO has not considered it important to enhance the political, social or economic relationship between the Israeli Palestinians and the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli Palestinian leaders on the other hand, do consider the Israeli Palestinians as sharing history, culture, language and identity with the Palestinians on the other side of the green line, but as having a separate political system (Amara 2000:43). This is also reflected in a survey undertaken by the Israeli Arab centre of social research, Mada-al Carmel (2004), questioning the inhabitants in the 'Triangle' area<sup>21</sup> about the Knesset proposal of land exchange proposed by the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, Avigdor Lieberman, a proposal which would effectively place the Arab villages in the Triangle area under the Palestinian Authority and Jewish settlements on the West Bank under Israeli authority. The survey showed that 91% of the inhabitants were opposed to the plans. Among these 43% reported the reason being that they would be forced to leave their homeland, and 33% reported the reason being that life under Palestinian Authority would mean a decline in their living standards.

The Second Lebanon War in 2006 is another example which reflects the complex socio-political status of the Israeli Palestinians. A survey undertaken by Mada al-Carmel one week after the second Lebanon war in 2006 showed that 75% of the Israeli Arabs considered Israel's military actions to be war crimes. The survey also questioned the reason for the high number of Arab casualties during the war (18 out of 40 civilians killed where Arabs<sup>22</sup>). 69% said it was because there were not enough bunkers in the Arab areas, and 53% said the reason was that the Arabs ignored safety instructions. These questions were asked to Israeli Palestinians who were personally affected by the war by living in the North of Israel. Among Arabs from all parts of the state, 66% answered that the state did not assist Arab citizens in the North to the same extent as it helped Jewish citizens. Among my informants, a man from Haifa shared with me his feeling of divided loyalty during the war. In one way he wanted Hizbullah to win, but at the same time, he suffered on behalf of the Israelis, Jews and Arabs who were hit by Hizbullah's rockets.

One of the latest political suggestions causing harm amongst the Arab minority was the proposal by Lieberman that all Israeli citizens must swear an oath of loyalty to the Jewish state. The proposal was rejected by the Cabinet, but serves as a good example of the challenges the Arab minority are faced with.

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<sup>21</sup> The 'Triangle' area refers to a concentration of Arab Israeli villages adjacent to the Green Line in the Haifa and Central district (c.f. 2.4.1).

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/Communication/IsraelUnderAttack/Lebanon+North/attacklebanonnorth.htm> (01.10.2009)

The above-mentioned points serve to illustrate the Arab minority's complex socio-political situation. Amin Maalouf discusses the issue of having an identity consisting of many elements. He argues that this is not a contradiction but rather that the feeling of belonging to more than one group is shared by most of the world's individuals (Maalouf 1998:7). Nevertheless looking upon this group in the light of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one cannot help wondering how they deal with these seemingly conflicting elements of their identity. As an Israeli Arab public figure put it "My state is at war with my nation"<sup>23</sup>.

### 2.3 "Hebrew as my step-mother-tongue"

Language is a strong mean in the process of building national identity. The project of establishing Hebrew as the national language of Israel serves as a prime example of this.

For the Zionists in Israel, Hebrew was the only language to be used. This monolingual ideology was supported by the ideas that; "national unity depends on national monolingualism" and that "maintaining other languages weakens national identity" (Spolsky and Shuhamy 1999:100).

Throughout history, the Arabic language has played a similarly important role in the process of creating consciousness around the idea of an Arab identity among Arabs. According to the Arab nationalist idea, the Arab identity and nation are built on two cornerstones, namely the Arabic language and Islam (Choureiri 2004:23). The two cornerstones are inextricably linked to one another as the Arabic written language, *al-fuṣḥā* is the language of the *qur'an*, and as such holds a high position in the Muslim world. Under the Ottoman Empire the different Arab provinces began to make use of the concept 'fatherland' (*al-waṭan*), referring to their administrative territory. In this process, the inhabitants of these redefined political units within the Ottoman Empire gained consciousness around their particular national history and their local culture, and started to use Arabic instead of Ottoman Turkish in governmental decrees and official transactions, as a symbol of their national identity (ibid.:72).

In Israel, the official languages has since its establishment been Hebrew and Arabic. In 1999, it was estimated that 4,5 million had functional competence in Hebrew and 2 million in Arabic, which makes Arabic the largest minority language in Israel (Spolsky and Shuhamy 1999:103). Even so, Arabic is not looked upon as a threat to Hebrew in Israel. English on the other hand, is perceived as a threat to the hegemony of Hebrew. Being the main governmental

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jun/16/israel-must-remain-secular>

language during the British Mandate period from 1917-1948, the foundations for its strong position were laid. The high number of English speaking immigrants who arrived after 1968 strengthened its position further, and the globalization process of English has made it the most important second language in the fields of business, science, education and travel. In addition, the largest Jewish Diaspora is located in the United States (Amara 2002:59, Spolsky and Shuhamy 1999:105).

Even though both Arabic and Hebrew are official languages, their status in Israel's education policy is imbalanced. For Hebrew speakers, Arabic is a required subject from seventh to tenth grade but schools may choose to offer French instead of Arabic, whereas for Arabic speakers, Hebrew is compulsory from second or third to twelfth grade (Spolsky and Shuhamy 1999:108). At most of the Israeli universities, Arabic is taught as a second language, and only used as a language of instruction in Arabic language and literature programs. The language imbalance is also reflected in Israel's laws. The citizenship law of 1952 requires "some knowledge of Hebrew" as a condition for obtaining citizenship, but none of Arabic. The Chamber of Advocates Law of 1961 requires "a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew" to be registered as a law clerk (Amara 2002:61-62). Both Hebrew and Arabic may be used in all Courts of Law and in the Knesset, and all government offices are supposed to use forms and display signs in both languages, although some omit Arabic in Jewish neighbourhoods (Landau 1987:121).

The Arabic language's position as Israel's official language alongside Hebrew has been challenged. In 2008 a bill was presented to the Knesset, proposing to reduce Arabic's status to a second language alongside English and Russian, leaving Hebrew as Israel's only official language. In 2009 the Ministry of Transportation presented a new policy concerning the use of language on road signs in Israel. A road sign for Jerusalem for instance, which today is referred to as '*Yerushalaim*' in Hebrew script, '*Al-quds*' together with '*Yerushalaim*' in Arabic script and '*Jerusalem*' in Latin script, will in all three languages be referred to only with the Hebrew version '*Yerushalaim*'. This effectively means that the Arabic names of places in Israel will not be found on the road signs. Only new signs, and old signs which need to be changed due to wear, will follow this new system, thus the change will be gradual. Israeli Palestinians consider the new law an attempt to erase the land's Arabic heritage.

Based on the points presented here it is safe to say that it is mandatory for Israeli Arabs to know Hebrew, and that language indeed is politics in Israel. The Israeli Arab writer

Anton Shammas expressed the role of Hebrew in his life like this: “ I chose Hebrew as my step-mother-tongue” (Koplewitz1992:40).

## **2.4 The speech community**

### **2.4.1 Israeli districts and their Israeli Palestinian inhabitants**

The Arab minority in Israel composes around 20% of Israel’s population, with around 1,4 million inhabitants. Israel is divided into six administrative districts: the Northern district, Haifa, Tel Aviv, the Central district, Jerusalem, and the Southern district (c.f. Map 1).

According to Israel’s Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS)<sup>24</sup> in 2003, the Northern district inhabited 52% of the Israeli Palestinians. Nazareth is located in this district and is the largest Israeli Palestinian city. In the Haifa District 23% are Arab, and in the Central district 8% of the residents are Arab. The Triangle is located in the Haifa and Central district, alongside the Green Line with Umm al-Fahm as its cultural, political and economic centre. In the Southern district 14% are Arab, most of whom are Beduins, while in the Jerusalem district there are, according to CBS, 29% Israeli Palestinians. The Jerusalem District is a special case as it includes the Occupied East-Jerusalem. According to Ir Amim’s <sup>25</sup> report “Beyond The Wall” (2007), the Jerusalem Municipality aims at a demographic ratio of 60-40 between Jews and Palestinians respectively, in order to secure a Jewish majority. Ir Amim points to how the Separation Barrier is set up outside the municipal border in some areas, effectively including Jewish settlements on the West Bank in the municipality, while the Barrier cuts inside the border line in areas where there are a high number of Palestinian residents, effectively excluding Palestinian neighbourhoods from the municipality. In the Tel Aviv district, 1% are Israeli Palestinians, of which most live in Jaffa<sup>26</sup>.

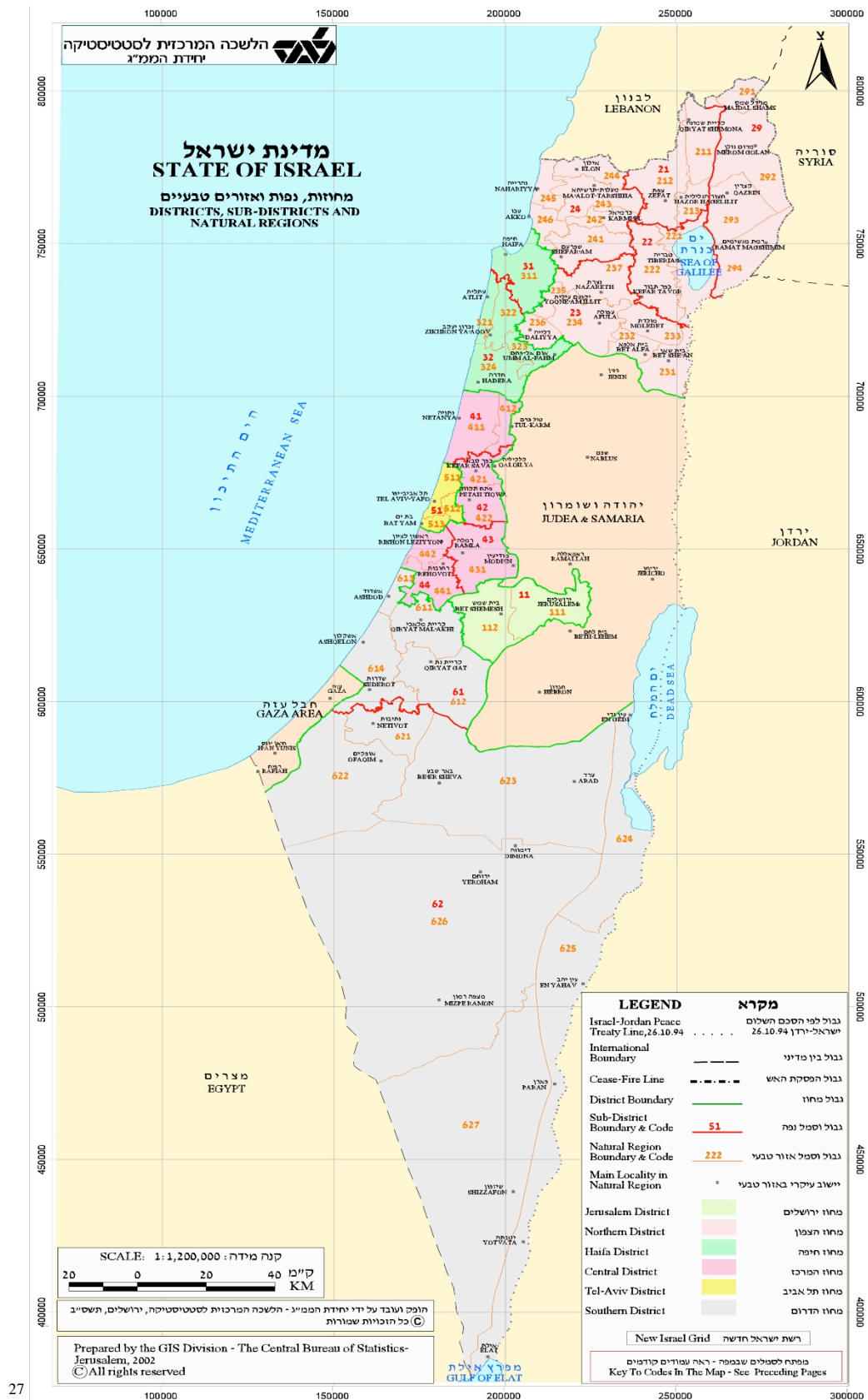
There are five, so called ‘mixed’ cities in Israel: Haifa, Jaffa, Lod, Ramle and Akka. In Akka there are approximately 45% Israeli Palestinians, in Lod and Ramle the number is approximately 20%, and in Tel Aviv-Jaffa 4%. In Haifa the Israeli Palestinians make up 9% of the city’s inhabitants.

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<sup>24</sup> [http://www.cbs.gov.il/statistical/arab\\_pop03e.pdf](http://www.cbs.gov.il/statistical/arab_pop03e.pdf) ( 01.10.2009)

<sup>25</sup> Ir Amim (“City of Nations” or “City of Peoples”) is an Israeli NGO defining itself as an “Israeli non-profit, non-partisan organization founded in order to actively engage in those issues impacting on Israeli-Palestinian relations in Jerusalem and on the political future of the city”. <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/eng/?CategoryID=151> (01.10.2009)

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.cbs.gov.il/statistical/arab\\_pop03e.pdf](http://www.cbs.gov.il/statistical/arab_pop03e.pdf) (01.10.2009)



Map 1. Districts of Israel.

<sup>27</sup> [http://gis.cbs.gov.il/shnaton53/all\\_israel.jpg](http://gis.cbs.gov.il/shnaton53/all_israel.jpg)

### 2.4.2 In Haifa they work

During the first years of the 20th century, whilst still part of the Ottoman Empire, Haifa emerged as an industrial centre. Together with Haifa's seaport, the Hijaz Railway and the Technion, The Israeli Institute of Technology, which was built in this period, contributed to Haifa's growth in population. Haifa was designated as part of the Israeli state in the 1947 UN Partition Plan, and thus came under Israeli rule with its establishment in 1948<sup>28</sup>. In that time, the inhabitants of Haifa numbered 135 000, and were almost equally divided between Jews and Arabs (Morris 2004:99 and 186). After the establishment of Israel most of the Arabs fled the city, and Jews started inhabit Arab so-called 'absentee properties'.

With approximately 270 000 inhabitants, Haifa is today Israel's third largest city. The city's inhabitants are composed of a relatively high number of former Soviet Union immigrants and as mentioned above, 9% 1948 Arabs. There are relatively many Christians living in Haifa both among the Arab minority and the former Soviet Union immigrants. Haifa is still an important industrial city and Haifa port is the largest of Israel's three international seaports. In Haifa one also finds two of the country's largest institutions of education, namely Haifa University and the Technion, and it is also home to the Bahai Shrine and Bahai Gardens, which draw tens of thousands of tourists to the city every year.

Haifa is known as the city of 'coexistence' between Jews and Arabs. Despite this, it has also significant problems of discrimination and racism of the same kind as mentioned in 2.2. The city, which stretches from the Mediterranean Coast to the top of Mount Carmel, is divided into three levels with a clear division between the neighbourhoods (c.f. Map.2.) In the mid level, most of the dwellers are Israeli Palestinians, Russian immigrants as well as Mizrahi Jews (c.f. footnote 6). The neighbourhood called Wadi Nisnas is mostly Arab. In the French Carmel area one also finds a large group of Arab inhabitants. In the German Colony located at the foot of the Bahai Gardens, most of the cafes and restaurants are owned by Israeli Palestinians. The main bulk of staff is Arab, but the clientele is both Jewish and Arab. In the neighbourhood called Neve Sha'anani, located above Hadar, one finds most of the Russian immigrants. In HaCarmel, at the top of Mount Carmel most of the inhabitants are Ashkenazi Jews.

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<sup>28</sup> [http://www.tour-haifa.co.il/eng/modules/article/view\\_article.php/38/c2](http://www.tour-haifa.co.il/eng/modules/article/view_article.php/38/c2) (01.10.2009)





### 2.4.3 Jaffa - the bride of the sea

Jaffa has historically played an important role because of its port and there are traces of Jaffa port believed to be 4000 years old. Until 1965, when Ashdod port was completed, Jaffa functioned as an international seaport. Because of Jaffa's large Arab majority it was designated as part of the Palestinian sovereignty in the 1947 UN Partition Plan (Morris 2004: 109).

On 25 April 1948, Irgun, the military underground Zionist group, launched an attack on Jaffa. On the eve of the attack, some two thirds of the city's pre-war population of 70 000-80 000 was still in place, and on 14 May 1948, when Haganah<sup>30</sup> took control over Jaffa, all but some 4000-5000 Palestinians had fled (Morris 2004:212-219). As in Haifa, Jewish immigrants inhabited Arab 'absentee properties' and the Palestinians who stayed, were allowed only to live in the Al-Ajami neighbourhood stretching from the Old City to Bat Yam and from the Mediterranean coast line to Yefet Street (c.f. Map 3 and 4), (ibid.:386). They lived under military restrictions until 1966 when most of the discriminatory laws and restriction on Israel's Palestinians were dismantled. In 1950 Jaffa was joined together with Tel Aviv, and the official name became Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

Today Jaffa, and especially the old city is a popular tourist attraction. According to CBS, 1948 Arabs compose 4% of Tel Aviv-Jaffa's population, but when it comes to how many Israeli Arabs living in Jaffa today, the numbers vary all from 10 000 to 25 000. The Old City has been, and some parts still are, under renovation and are today mostly inhabited by Jewish artists. In Jaffa, and especially the al-Ajami area, criminality is an increasing problem, and it is a poor and underdeveloped area. The city authorities are currently renovating the area around the seaport and North al-Ajami and are planning to build a park here. This means that many of the Arab families living in this area no longer can afford to live there and will have to move<sup>31</sup>. Jaffa is by many means a neglected part of the city and many of its inhabitants blame the Jewish, and what they see as a very much North Tel Aviv focused leadership in the city.

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<sup>30</sup> Haganah (Hebrew: defence) was a Jewish paramilitary organisation in the British Mandate period and later turned into Israeli Defence Force, IDF.

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost%2FJPostArticle%2FShowFull&cid=1162378508780> (02.10.2009)





## Chapter Three: The theoretical framework.

### 3.1 Bilingualism and the choice of code

Joshua A. Fishman and William Labov are among the leading figures in the formative years of sociolinguistics. They both claim that speakers' choice of code is steered by structures found on the macro-level, i.e. language planning, language policy, language legislation as well as other societal structures in the particular society (Coulmas 2005:136). Fishman claims that linguistic choices are steered by language use patterns, while Labov developed the 'variable rule', which claims that phonological variables are closely linked to societal variables in the speech community (Gumperz 1982:69-70).

In *Discourse Strategies* (1982) John J. Gumperz presents the concept of 'conversational code-switching'. He argues that linguistic choices are not solely governed by structures on macro-level, but rather that speakers make their code choices on the background of what they wish for the particular interaction. Gumperz is among the first sociolinguists claiming that code choices are steered by factors found on the micro-level, i.e. in the particular interaction (Coulmas 2005:136).

#### 3.1.1 Domains

In his article "Domains and the Relationship between Micro- and Macrolinguistics" (1972), Fishman discusses his theory of the choice of code in societies with widespread and relatively stable multilingualism, being subject to three factors, namely: 'group membership', 'situation' and 'topic'. This article is a revision and extension of "Who speaks what language to whom and when" (1965) in which he first presents this theory. He argues that habitual code choices in a speech community are not random, but rather based on what is considered 'proper' usage: "[P]roper" usage dictates that only one of the theoretically coavailable languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics"<sup>34</sup> (1972:437). These three factors are influenced by mechanisms on both macro-level and micro-level, and therefore, he argues, they cannot give a satisfactory explanation standing alone. However, by considering the three factors together, 'patterns' in speakers' language choice will be discovered and one arrives at different linguistic 'domains' in a particular society. He defines domain as "institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that

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<sup>34</sup> Italicizing omitted.

occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors” and argues that “[D]omains enable us to understand that language choice and topic, appropriate though they may be for analyses of individual behaviour at the level of face-to-face verbal encounters are [...] related to widespread sociocultural norms and expectations”<sup>35</sup> (ibid.:441). A domain can be the family, the church, literature or educational institutions, amongst others, and can vary from one speech community to another. He argues that the concept of the domain ‘family’ is derived from many instances of particular families, but that individual choices alone can not give us information about why speakers make the choices they do. This stands in clear contrast to Gumperz’ argument some ten years later in *Discourse Strategies*. According to Fishman, once the linguistic domains in a society have been identified, one can predict and explain speakers’ code choice as well as language shift and maintenance.

In Fishman’s discussion of ‘topic’, he argues that the fact that two interlocutors who usually speak to each other in language X switch to language Y, or switch between X and Y when discussing certain topics, suggests that *topic* is a choice regulator per se. He notes that “certain topics are somehow handled “better” or more appropriately in one language than in another in particular multilingual contexts. However, this greater appropriateness may reflect or may be brought about by several different but mutually reinforced factors” (ibid. 439). He suggests that the fact that some multilingual speakers ‘acquire the habit’ to speak about topic *x* in language X, is partially due to them being *trained* to do so, for instance as a consequence of them receiving their university training in this language, partially because the speakers and their interlocutors *lack the necessary vocabulary to speak about x in Y* in a satisfying manner, partially due to *language Y lacking the necessary vocabulary to treat topic x* in a satisfying manner, and partially because *it is considered strange or inappropriate to treat topic x in language Y*. In my view, the first two factors seem to be consequences of a states’ macro-structure, as the language and educational politics, while the third factor could come as a consequence of the nature of a speech communities’ varieties, as in a diglossic language situation. However, if a particular code is considered strange or inappropriate to use when treating a particular topic, the speakers are in a position where they do have a choice, in line with the theories of Gumperz’ and Carol Myers-Scotton, who is a leading figure in research with focus on socio-psychological factors influencing speakers’ choice of code (c.f. 3.1.3 and 3.3).

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<sup>35</sup> Italicizing omitted

Fishman further argues that although topic alone cannot explain code choices, these factors may tell us a great deal about the status of the different languages and the languages' speech networks in the society and as such reveal a great deal about the larger societal patterns in the particular society (ibid.:439-440).

The function of topic as a choice regulator has been debated. Alan Bell argues that what he calls 'audience design' implies that "speakers design their style for their audience" and that "non-personal contextual and situational variables, like topic and setting, can be shown to have less effect on style than the audience variables" (Bell 1984 in Mejdell 2006:380).

### **3.1.2 Language and identity**

In her discussion of language and identity, Mendoza Denton (2002:476) points to the essentialistic understanding of identity, and asks whether it is possible to think about identity without reducing or simplifying individuals to a single dimension. She refers to the growing awareness in philosophy and postcolonial studies that identity is not univalent, but argues that it is a challenge to approach the idea of identity as multivalent, and that the essentialistic idea withstands, only now compounded.

Amin Maalouf reflects upon his own identity in *Identitet som Dreper* (1999:7) and says that when he is asked whether he feels more French or more Lebanese, he always answers 'both', and that this is what makes him into who he is. Does this mean that he is half French and half Lebanese? He argues that no, identity cannot be divided, he does not have multiple identities, he has one, and it is made up of all the different elements making him into who he is. I believe that this idea is not alien to the increasing number of individuals in the world today who are living in another land than their 'mother land', and speaking another or additional language than their 'mother tongue'. Nevertheless, we seem to continue seeking to categorize in simple terms in order to understand one another.

Speaking about our beliefs and ideas concerning language and identity in *Sociolinguistics* (2005:171-173), Florian Coulmas notes that it is a sociolinguistic tenet that language displays its speakers' identity. He says that the theoretical linguistic concept of a 'native speaker' is based on the logic of identity saying that every individual is identical with itself. He further argues that the 'native speaker' is merely a theoretical construct, but that this construct is nevertheless profoundly established among us. Everyone is a native speaker and everyone has a mother tongue, but the same way that no one can have more than one (biological) mother, no one can have more than one mother tongue. He further says that those

who make us doubt this ‘apparent truism’, is regarded as suspicious, and that this suspicion “is grounded in an ideological conception of language and identity which conflates individual and collective identity, linking both to loyalty” (2005:172). He argues that the notion of the mother tongue and native speakers clearly becomes more complex when one includes all the stylistic variations such as diglossia, bilingualism and code-switching, but nevertheless, language functions as an identity marker.

By making a linguistic change, an individual can change the way he or she is conceived by others, indicating that linguistic identity is not a social structure forced upon an individual but rather a choice (ibid.:173). The following may illustrate this: Yasir Suleiman who left his Palestinian homeland in 1967 to live in Scotland, describes in *A War of Words* (2004:8-9) how, when he was travelling in the Palestinian Territory and Israel and found himself negotiating on checkpoints with Israeli soldiers, he could not make himself speak Arabic with Israeli soldiers, not even with Druze soldiers, to whom Arabic is the native language. However, in meeting with Palestinian police and ordinary people, he would always speak Arabic, even when they addressed him in English, reacting to his British passport. Suleiman here points to how he, although unconsciously, with his choice of code signalled loyalty to what he viewed as his people, the Palestinians, and told them that he is ‘one of them’. At the same time, by refusing to speak Arabic with the Israeli soldiers, Druze or Jewish, he created a barrier between himself and them in order not to allow for any bonds of solidarity to be created. He also describes how he used language to redefine the relationship of power between two parts by not letting the soldiers use Arabic with him, arguing that they use Arabic as a mean to put themselves “in a privileged power position over the Palestinians” (ibid.:9). Suleiman describes here how language can be used, and is used to define relationships and to index the different elements of one's identity.

### **3.1.3 Code choice as intentional**

Gumperz' theory of ‘conversational code-switching’ is an extension of the ideas presented in “Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code Switching in Norway” (Blom and Gumperz: 1972). They argue here that domains are by no means the only factor deciding or influencing speakers' choice of code. Nor is it the only way in which we can find answers as to *why* speakers make the choices they do. They claim that code choices differ between what they call ‘situational switching’ and ‘metaphorical switching’. Situational switching is steered by what Fishman refers to as linguistic domains. Their theory is that situational switching is closely linked to the social situation. An example of situational switching in the article is

taken from a lecture, in which the teacher speaks the Norwegian standard variety when giving a formal lecture and changes to the local dialect when inviting the students to intervene for discussion. They argue that if the teacher had used dialect in the formal lecture or a student had spoken in standard Norwegian during the discussions, it would have been a violation of the commonly accepted norms. Metaphorical switching presumes that the speaker switches from one code to the other, not because of change of domain, but because the situation allows for more than one type of relationship between the participants in the same social interaction. An example is drawn from a community administration office in the Northern Norwegian town of Hemnesberget, where the clerks and the customers also are fellow locals. They used the Norwegian standard variety when treating official affairs and the local dialect when greeting each other or speaking about family affairs. They would also insert casual remarks in the local dialect, when speaking about formal issues in the standard variety<sup>36</sup>. Thus by switching between the two codes, they switch between the clerk-customer relationship and the fellow locals relationship, and as such they use the codes at hand to influence the nature of the interaction.

When presenting the concept of ‘conversational code-switching’, Gumperz argues that “[R]ather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience’s abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood”(Gumperz 1982:61). Myers-Scotton argues that in Gumperz’ model “the speaker is important not so much as an identity-bearing individual, but rather as a *participant* in an ongoing interaction” and “they exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature” (Myers-Scotton 1993:56-57).

Before I go on discussing the markedness of a code, I shall discuss some of the terms used in identifying and defining the different code choices made in a multilingual speech community.

### **3.2 Code-switching and the filling of lexical gaps**

Identification and definition of the different kinds of code choices that bilingual speakers make, have been subject of many a debate and discussion in sociolinguistic literature.

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<sup>36</sup> The distinction between situational and metaphorical switching is unclear, and has been criticized by many, among them Myers-Scotton (1993: 52-56).

According to Mejdell (2005:219) the term ‘code-switching’ is viewed as a general term covering the use of two or more codes in one speech interaction. The term ‘code’ can refer to languages as well as to varieties of the same language.

### **3.2.1 Cultural borrowing**

Borrowing is generally defined as the use of foreign lexical items, often to fill a lexical gap. It is characterized as being used by monolinguals as well as bilinguals and will often be phonologically adapted and morphologically integrated. A recent example in the Norwegian context is the English verb ‘to poke’, a frequently used term in the language of ‘facebook’. It has been ‘Norwegianized’ to ‘å pok-e’ keeping the English phonology, but adding the Norwegian infinitive marker ‘-e’ in the pronunciation. Another recent example is drawn from a debate in Norway concerning allowing the use of *hijāb* as part of the police uniform. The Arabic word ‘*hijāb*’ as a borrowing has consistently been pronounced with stress on the first syllable and shortened second vowel ‘*hījab*’. This reflects the most usual pattern in Norwegian phonology, and thus the word has become phonologically adapted into the Norwegian vocabulary. This type of borrowing is often referred to as ‘cultural borrowing’. The words ‘to poke’ and ‘*hijāb*’ serve as examples of words for which, according to the speakers, there exists no satisfying equivalent in Norwegian.

### **3.2.2 Core borrowing**

Another kind of borrowing is called ‘core borrowing’. This refers to the use of foreign lexical items whose equivalent already exist in the users’ primary language and which are widely used. In *Bilingualism* (1995:142) Suzanne Romaine presents examples of this from speakers of Panjabi in England. English words belonging to the core vocabulary such as ‘children’, ‘parents’ and ‘language’ are often used instead of the Panjabi equivalents, in spite of the Panjabi equivalents being common. Myers-Scotton discusses the distinction between the two types of borrowing. She argues that cultural borrowing may occur in monolingual speech between monolinguals as well as bilinguals, and in code-switching between bilinguals. Concerning core borrowed forms she says that they usually “begin life in the recipient language when bilinguals introduce them as singly occurring codeswitching forms in the mixed constituents of their codeswitching” (Myers-Scotton 2002:239). Thus according to Myers-Scotton, core borrowing starts out as code-switching and eventually appear in the speech of monolinguals as borrowing.

### 3.3 Marked and unmarked choice

According to Coulmas, the contrast pair of marked and unmarked code choice “pervades all formal, grammatical and lexical systems and is highly relevant to human behaviour. It thus provides an important link between language and its use” (2005:90-91). He argues that a member of a speech community has to know what kind of language behaviour is marked or unmarked relative to the everyday situations, in order to be a competent member. Following this, the markedness of a specific code can only be spoken of with reference to a particular community, and a particular social context. In order to determine the level of markedness of a particular code in a particular context, one has to have good knowledge of the speech patterns and linguistic domains in the given speech community.

In his discussion of domains, Fishman says that it is exactly because of the existence of linguistic domains that code choices may have a metaphorical function: “[W]ithout a more general norm assigning a particular topic or situation [...] to one language rather than another, metaphorical purposes could neither be served nor recognized”<sup>37</sup> (Fishman 1972:450). I will argue that this argument applies to the concept of markedness. Myers-Scotton’s concept of ‘conventionalized exchanges’ resembles Fishman’s concept of domains. According to Myers-Scotton, conventionalized exchanges are routinized by the use of a certain language, dialect or certain lexical items, which are predictable for the interaction. She uses peer-to-peer informal talks, doctor-patient visits or job-interviews as examples of such conventionalized exchanges (Myers-Scotton 1988:98). She further notes that far from all exchanges are conventionalized, and uses a lengthy conversation between two strangers, where they do not know each other’s social identities, as example. Another example is an interaction between two persons where one is the superior of a former peer. She argues that in such interactions, where the interlocutors have no ‘script’, all available codes have potential to become the unmarked choice (ibid.:100).

Building on Gumperz’ theories, Myers-Scotton claims that the speaker makes his or her choice of code based on an assessment of the consequences or reactions he or she expects it to create. The speaker assesses, mostly unconsciously, the level of markedness of the available linguistic codes for any interaction, based on the particular social context’s set of rights and obligations (RO set), i.e. its governing norms and relevant features. Making an unexpected code choice for a specific interaction is as such considered ‘marked’, and the

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<sup>37</sup> Italicizing omitted



speaker is aware of the reactions a marked code choice may bring about among its interlocutors. By making a marked code choice in a particular context he or she acts on the RO set, effectively offering a change or actually changing the relationship between the speaker and his or her interlocutors, and the roles they act on (1993:84)<sup>38</sup>. She notes that most speakers choose the ‘safer’ unmarked choice, as this is what is expected, and as another choice is often not conceived as an option.

### **3.3.1 Code-Switching as an unmarked choice**

Myers Scotton introduced the theory which states that code-switching also can be an *unmarked* choice. She differentiates between two types of code-switching as unmarked choice, ‘sequential unmarked choice’, and ‘overall switching as unmarked choice’ (Myers-Scotton 1988:103-108, 1993:114-117).

Sequential unmarked choice is what Blom and Gumperz labelled ‘situational code-switching’, being a switch from one unmarked code to another following a change in situation (1993:115). In order to illustrate this type of switching, Myers-Scotton uses an example from East-Africa, which involves two strangers speaking to each other in Swahili, which function as the lingua franca, but when they realize that they share ethnic identity, they switch to Luyia, their common ethnic language. The language choices are unmarked in the sense that with new information coming forth, the RO set changes and with it emerges another code as the unmarked choice (1988:104).

Overall switching may also be unmarked, according to Myers-Scotton. This is when two or more codes are used in one conventionalized exchange, unmarked. This is done, according to Myers-Scotton, when the speakers wish to make salient two or more positively evaluated identities, for example when two educated ethnic peers switch between their shared first language, which is associated with shared group values and identity, and English, which is associated with education and urban life (ibid.).

A code’s prestige and the attitudes towards it are elements influencing how a code is perceived in a speech community. Before I look closer at this I shall give a brief presentation of the Arabic diglossic situation.

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<sup>38</sup> Myers-Scotton’s markedness model is first and foremost made for samples of actual speech, and as this thesis focuses on reported usage and attitudes, I shall not make use of this model here. However, I find her theories about markedness useful in order to understand the idea of code choices made with the aim to index different elements of one’s identity in different contexts.

### 3.4 Diglossia

Charles Ferguson introduced the term ‘diglossia’ in his famous article with the same name (1959), describing it as a relatively stable language-situation where two varieties of the same language are used in one speech community each with its defined role, i.e. there is a complementary distribution of the two varieties. The two varieties are considered by the members of the speech community as being of the same language. In Arabic the high variety (H) is *fuṣḥā* and the low variety (L) is *‘āmmiyya*. The H is the formally acquired variety and the L is the speakers’ ‘native tongue’ in the sense that it is the only naturally acquired variety of the two. *Fuṣḥā* is considered a pure ‘superposed code’, and its traditional domain is written and oral reproduction of written text (Mejdell 2006:2). Ferguson’s definition of diglossia as a rigid complementary distribution of H and L is today often referred to as ‘narrow diglossia’. Mejdell argues that Ferguson’s model holds validity as an overall description of the sociolinguistic situation in Arabic language communities, but that the discreteness of the two varieties has been overstated both linguistically and functionally (1999:226).

#### 3.4.1 The Arabic diglossic continuum

Mejdell notes in *Mixed Styles in Spoken Arabic in Egypt* (2006:2) that “it is generally accepted in (socio)linguistics that *all* speakers have in their verbal repertoire a certain range of stylistic variation, that certain aspects of language use of groups and individuals are influenced by contextual factors and communicative functions”. Ferguson himself noted that due to the communicative tensions in a diglossic language situation one would see “the use of relatively uncoded, unstable intermediate forms of the language [...] and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L” (Ferguson 1959:332). In *Mustawayāt al-luġa al-‘arabiyya al-mu‘āṣira fī miṣr* (1973) Muḥammad El-Sa‘īd Badawi argues that the Egyptian language situation is a continuum, and describes it as a linguistic ladder with *fuṣḥā* on top and *‘āmmiyya* on bottom. The speakers move in between a few or many steps of the ladder, depending on different factors such as their background, history, age and culture, making use of their linguistic repertoire. Even so, language policy in many Arab countries today indicates that the Arabic diglossia attitudinally is closer to the idea of a rigid complementary distribution than a diglossic continuum. This language policy demands that *fuṣḥā* should be, and thus it is often claimed to be, the only language used as educational language.

Research, though, has proved that *‘ammiyya* is indeed used, and that the actual language for oral communication in classrooms in many Arab countries, is a mix of H and L<sup>39</sup>.

In “Searching for Modern *Fuṣḥā*: Real-life Formal Arabic”(1991) Parkinson did a study of how Egyptian native speakers conceive of and talk about the different varieties in the Arabic diglossic continuum. His study showed that individuals have their personal view on whether a text is *fuṣḥā* or not, and that the factors they base their evaluation of the text on, written or read out loud, ranges from grammatical, lexical to topical and formality of style (ibid.:60-61).

### **3.4.2 Code-switching as an unmarked choice in Arabic diglossia**

In “Code-Switching as Indexical for Social Negotiation”(1988) Myers-Scotton claims that overall switching as an unmarked choice is unlikely in narrow diglossic community where there is a strict allocation of the two varieties involved. In “Switching Mixing: Code Interaction in Spoken Arabic” (1999) Mejdell argues that not only does unmarked code-switching occur in diglossic language situations, but that it is relatively frequent. She found that educated Egyptians in certain contexts move between the stylistic range of Standard Arabic and Egyptian *‘ammiyya*, using elements from both varieties. She notes that none of her informants admitted to consciously making their choice of code or to code-switch, but rather that their goal was communicative purposes, and getting through to the audience without sounding to pompous or pedantic. They wished to signal that they were a part of high culture and the common Egyptian people at the same time, and therefore they aimed at a mixed mode. Mejdell argues that this is code-switching as an unmarked choice because the speakers make use of the varieties at hand to make salient different elements of their identity. She notes that this situation indicates that L has a form of prestige as the language of the authentic Egyptian local culture and national identity, and that the stigmatization of L according to the diglossia model is overstated (Mejdell 1999:239-240). Thus speakers in a diglossic language situation have the same opportunities to negotiate and make salient different elements of their identities, with the use of the codes in their linguistic repertoire, as in a bilingual language situation.

Before moving on to the Hebrew language situation, I shall look at how attitudes towards a code may play a part in choice of code.

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<sup>39</sup> See Amara 1988, Tamer 2003.

### 3.5 Language attitudes, prestige and motivation

So far I have discussed theories of why speakers make their choices of code based on societal structures and as intentional choices. Language attitudes may also be a relevant factor connected to the choice of code. Language attitudes in a speech community tell us a great deal about the societal structures, and the status of languages and their speakers in a speech community. They are also important factors in understanding language shift and maintenance. The study of language attitudes has its roots in socio-psychology. Attitude may be defined as an acquired bias towards reacting in a particular way towards particular social objects, ideas and values<sup>40</sup>. In any given speech community its various linguistic codes are associated with a set of values. According to these values, the code is conceived as more or less prestigious or stigmatized by the speakers, and linguistic codes may thus function as identity markers, as discussed in 3.1.2. We categorize and make presumptions about the people we meet based on how they speak. Their language, accent, dialect and sociolect give us indications of with whom we are speaking. By being able to situate others by their way of speaking, we may also influence how others view us by the way we speak, and accordingly we may choose, consciously or subconsciously, to speak in a certain manner in order to be conceived in a certain way. Thus attitudes towards a code may influence the way we speak.

Attitudes though, are subject to changes in the society, and may change accordingly. When discussing attitudes in *Sociolinguistics*, Coulmas presents two examples in which German plays a role as a variable for identity claims. During World War I in the United States, the language policy in general was not positive towards multilingualism. German Americans in particular, due to them speaking the ‘enemy’ language, tended in this period to speak less and less German in public. In post-Soviet Union in Kazakhstan, the opposite was observed. The ethnic Germans there reclaimed German as their mother tongue, despite the fact that many of them knew little German. This was a criteria in order to be considered as ethnic German. As the conditions in Kazakhstan were bad, and loyalty to Germany improved people’s job and future prospects, having German as your mother tongue was considered a great advantage in this period (Coulmas 2005:179-180).

Even if a code is evaluated as positive attitudinally, it is not given that it is the preferred code in actual usage and vice versa, as the following discussion of prestige and motivation will illustrate.

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<sup>40</sup> Entry word in *Aschehoug og Gyldendals Store Norske Leksikon*. My translation.

### 3.5.1 Prestige

In 3.2.2, I explained the concept of core borrowing. Prestige has been claimed to be a reason for this type of borrowing. In core borrowing, speakers do not borrow out of necessity, and in sociolinguistics it is commonly assumed that a reason for this is that speakers borrow lexical items from more prestigious codes in order to display social status (Romaine 1995:66). The concept of prestige is complex within sociolinguistic research, as the following example from the Arabic diglossic language situation will illustrate.

#### 3.5.1.1 Prestige in Arabic diglossia

In “Standard and Prestige Language: A problem in Arabic Sociolinguistics” (1986), Muhammad H. Ibrahim challenges a prevailing sociolinguistic understanding at the time, namely that standard and prestigious language coincide. He argues that it has been a consistent mistake in sociolinguistic literature to equate prestigious variety with standard variety. He focuses on Arabic diglossia in particular and refers to Ferguson and his argument that the high variety, the standard (H), is regarded as superior to the low variety, the dialects (L). Ibrahim points to what he calls a ‘well known phenomenon’ in sociolinguistics, namely that widespread attitudes towards the ‘correct’ variety and the actual usage of this ‘correct’ variety seldom correlate. H is learnt through education and is as such inseparable from education. He argues that among the members of a diglossic society there is a considerable number who does not have the privilege of education. Still a sociolinguistic stratification exists among those without any functional knowledge of H, and thus there has to exist a standard L, which speakers imitate in the fields where L is spoken. Ibrahim further argues that had the situation been that H served as both a standard and a prestige variety, educated individuals from Upper Egypt would not have to acquire the Cairo dialect for conversational purposes.

As noted in 3.4.2, Mejdell argues that her informants’ aimed at a mixed mode and that they did not admit to making their code choices consciously, but rather that their motivation was communicative, and getting through to audience without sounding too pompous or pedantic. It seems, based on Mejdell’s observations, that by using only *fushā* for all communicative purposes of a more intellectual kind, the speaker points only to the educated, intellectual elements of his or hers identity, which may not always be desirable. Mejdell argues that the fact that her informants mix *fushā* and *‘ammiyya* proves that L has a form of prestige and consequently that the stigmatization of L in the diglossia model is overstated.

As also mentioned in 3.1.2, different codes are associated with different elements, some of which are positive and some of which are negative and which have prestige but are marked if used out of the ‘proper’ context, as for instance the usage of *fuṣḥā* in the grocery store. Other again, as the Cairo dialect in Ibrahim’s example, may have prestige representing the urban and more modern lifestyle compared to the Upper Egyptian dialect, which I assume is associated with more rural values. Based on this it may be that the Upper Egyptian individual acquires the Cairo dialect in order to index a part of his identity with the aim to communicate that he is not ‘pompous or pedantic’, to use the words of Mejdell’s informants, but neither a provincial man. Rather he is an urban, modern man.

The Upper Egyptian dialect may also be considered prestigious in various contexts, something which brings us to ‘covert prestige’.

### **3.5.1.2 Covert prestige**

The concept ‘covert prestige’ is used by many sociolinguistics, among them Labov and Trudgill, and is defined by Romaine (1995:294) as “often unconscious attribution of prestige by minority group members to a variety which is stigmatized by the majority”. In his studies among working class males in Norwich, Trudgill found that after first having stated that they wished to speak ‘properly’, i.e. standard English, they admitted that they probably would not like to do so, as they most certainly would be considered foolish, arrogant or disloyal by their friends and family if they did (Trudgill 1972:184). An otherwise stigmatized variety may thus be associated with positive values to emphasize solidarity and local identity, and as such it has covert prestige. An example drawn from the Norwegian society is a phenomenon among youth, observed by myself in the East of Oslo. Some ethnic Norwegian youth whose friends’ ethnicity is non-Norwegian, be it Pakistani, Moroccan or other, tend to speak with a broken accent. The reason may be that broken accent has covert prestige, and gives a sort of street credit.

### **3.5.2 Integrative and instrumental motivations**

A minority language is often stigmatized, and the stigmatization of a language may often lead to a language shift, but may also lead to a strengthening of support for the stigmatized minority language as for instance by it having covert prestige (Coulmas 2005:177), (c.f. 3.5.1). This does, however, not necessarily mean that the speakers will choose the stigmatized language in actual usage. In *Bilingualism*, Romaine (1995:43-44) presents an example from Ireland to illustrate how positive attitudes towards, and identification with, a

language does not guarantee its maintenance. She argues that in Ireland, the Irish' antipathy towards English and the English speakers has been overpowered by the necessity to learn English. And as a result of this there has been a language shift from Irish to English. Thus a speaker's *motivation* for learning and using a language is an important factor for a speaker's choice of code.

In *Attitudes and Motivations in Second Language Learning* (1972) Robert C. Gardner and Wallace E. Lambert differentiate between what they call 'instrumental' and 'integrative' motivations for learning a second language. According to them, instrumental motivations are based on the practical value and advantages the language has for the speaker in the society, be it gaining economic advantage or social recognition (1972:14). Integrative motivations are based on the speaker's sincere and personal interest in the people and the culture represented by the other group (ibid.:132). Based on their findings, their hypothesis is that those whose motivations for learning a language are integrative, are more successful learners than those whose motivations are instrumental (ibid.:132, Romaine 1995:44).

In her example, Romaine claims it was instrumental motivations which dominated in the Irish' choice of code. To illustrate a situation on language learning based on integrative motivations, Romaine draws on an example from a study among speakers of Scottish Gaelic. Through a questionnaire the participants were to value their knowledge of Gaelic. The findings showed that among both mono- and bilinguals, subjective aesthetic reasons ranked high, whereas only one operational reason ranked high in both groups, namely the motivation to learn Gaelic in order to obtain greater enjoyment of Gaelic music. Romaine argues that in the case of Scottish Gaelic, according to Lambert and Gardner's differentiation, integrative motivations were stronger than instrumental motivations (Romaine 1995:313).

Gardner and Lambert's dichotomy has been criticized for being difficult to apply to actual circumstances. It is not always easy to clarify the speaker's motivation to be one or the other of the two categories. A person's motivations may be both instrumental and integrative at the same time, both types of motivations being equally strong (ibid.:314). The motivation for learning, let us say Arabic, may be based both on a sincere and personal interest in the Arab culture and people, and on a motivation to improve his or her prospects on the job market, with the advantage the knowledge of a language like Arabic gives you.

### **3.5.3 Attitudes towards code-switching**

Attitudes towards code-switching are often found to be more or less negative (ibid.:291).

However, in 3.5.1.1 we saw that the positive attitudes towards *fuṣḥā* and the actual usage of it,

does not necessarily correspond, and that speakers often switch between it and *‘ammiyya* in order to make salient different elements of their identity.

There are also examples of reported usage and actual usage not corresponding, as speakers often, though not always, claim to speak the way they think they ought to speak, according to governing language attitudes. When doing research in Hemnesberget, Blom and Gumperz discovered that the speakers claimed to speak only the local dialect during an informal tape recording, and that they only used standard Norwegian in school, church and in other formal settings. When the two researchers confronted them with their frequent switching between the two varieties, they explained this with being inattentive to their language or failing to be living up to village norms, and ‘promised’ that they would only use local dialect in the future. Their use, however, did not change remarkably during later tests (Gumperz 1982:62).

The attitude towards a code and the reported usage of it may also sometimes not correspond. Among Romaine’s Panjabi-speakers, one said that he wished to speak ‘pure’ Panjabi, but that he was ‘unable’ to. Romaine notes that this is a well-known phenomenon in sociolinguistics, and despite negative prestige of codes and code-switching, they persist because they serve as markers for in-group identity (Romaine 1995:294). Thus, despite the fact that widespread attitudes towards code-switching often are found to be negative, code-switching may be said to have covert prestige in many situations. Sociolinguists, among them Haugen and Romaine, have noted that there is often a conflict among bilingual speakers between the desire to borrow lexical items from the more prestigious code in order to display social status on the one hand, and the condemnation of ‘polluting’ ‘their’ code, making it impure on the other hand (ibid.:292). Thus, we sometimes find that speakers view code-switching negatively, but that they nevertheless do code-switch, due to the prestige of the codes involved, or simply because the code-switching itself is an in-group marker.

### **3.6 Two varieties of modern Hebrew**

According to Yaakov Bentolila (2003), Modern Hebrew in Israel today comprises roughly two linguistic varieties, ‘General Hebrew’ (GH) and ‘Mizrahi Hebrew’ (MH). GH reflects Hebrew as it was and is spoken among the European Jews and is also called Ashkenazi Hebrew (AH) (c.f. 1.3.2). It is the most widespread variety among the Israeli social elite and is considered the most prestigious of the two varieties. MH reflects Hebrew as it was and is



spoken among Arab Jews, and Israeli Palestinians and it is a socially marked and even stigmatized variety.

According to Bentolila, MH is used by some Mizrahi Jews in Israel to express pride of origin, while others, who normally speak MH, may on certain occasions speak AH in interaction with other Mizrahi Jews, seeking social status. This points to MH having covert prestige, and AH being considered a prestigious variety among some Mizrahi Jews.

In *Words and Stones* (2004), Daniel Lefkowitz argues that the realization of the sounds /ʔ/ and /ħ/ together with the /R/ (c.f. 1.3.2), form an important part of the negotiation of identity in Israel. In addition to being the variety of Mizrahi Jews and Israeli Palestinians, MH is what the Jewish Language Academy (JLA) has adopted as the most prestigious variety. Lefkowitz notes that the high-prestige speakers' usage of AH contrasts with what the JLA has prescribed as the correct usage. I argue that this supports sociolinguistic findings pointing to that even though a variety is considered prestigious it is not given that it is the most used (c.f.3.5.1).

In order to illustrate how MH is used in the Israeli society to negotiate identity, Lefkowitz gives three examples from public discourse. In the first it is an Ashkenazi 'pioneer' working as a Kibbutz museum guide. As he is telling the visitors about the Kibbutz' traditional activities and about the traditional tools used in farming, he speaks MH. He also gives the Arabic names for the tools, as well as inserting Arabic words and expressions while telling his stories. According to Lefkowitz, he does this in order to strengthen the Zionist's link to the Middle East. In the second example, a Mizrahi soldier first speaks AH to a stranger at the bus stop, but changes into MH when speaking with a taxi driver, who is also a Mizrahi. In the third example, an Israeli Palestinian businessman speaks what Lefkowitz refers to as a 'flawless' Hebrew, but which is heavily pharyngealized. Lefkowitz argues that in these three examples, all speakers are using the same Hebrew variety, namely MH, but are negotiating three different identities (2004:219-222). He argues that data show that while MH is avoided by Jewish Israelis, Mizrahi and Ashkenazi the like, it is embraced by Israeli Palestinians (ibid.:214).

### **3.7 Code choice among Israeli Palestinians**

There has been written many books and articles about Israeli Palestinians and the language situation in Israel, however, the focus has mainly been on macro-linguistics, i.e. the language and education policy in Israel as well as Israel's minority politics in general. Few have

focused on the Arab minority alone, but rather as a part of multicultural Israel. The macro-linguistic factors in this particular speech community have been thoroughly presented and discussed in chapter One. I shall therefore not discuss these works here, but rather look at research which focus is on Israeli Palestinians choice of code and attitudes towards Arabic (*fuṣḥā* and *‘ammiyya*), Hebrew and English.

Immanuel Koplewitz (1992) is among the researchers who have studied Israeli Palestinians’ use of Hebrew lexical items in Israeli Arabic. Concerning their use of Hebrew, he states that Israeli Palestinians are fluent in Hebrew, but that it never was, nor will be a case of cultural or linguistic assimilation. He goes on to claim that *‘ammiyya* is their natural and primary code of communication, but that some acquire Hebrew as their main language for ‘high’ language functions (1992:34).

Research has shown that among Israeli Palestinians, Hebrew is the most important second language, and in some domains, Hebrew comes even before Arabic<sup>41</sup> (Amara 2006:464). According to Muhammad Amara, one of the leading figures in the study of language choice among the Palestinians in Israel, Hebrew is also the main source for new words in Arabic for Israeli Palestinians (ibid.:465). He has also found that Hebrew is the code which first and foremost fills the function of representing the modern outside world for Israeli Arabs, and although the general attitudes towards English are positive, the priority of learning English among the Arab minority is secondary to Hebrew (Amara 2002:62-63). Eliezer Ben Rafael (1994:170) whose main focus of study is on ethnicity and language in Israel, notes that English enters the Israeli Palestinians’ Arabic indirectly through Hebrew, as Hebrew to a large extent turns to English when naming new products.

### **3.7.1 Code-switching or borrowing**

In *Words and Stones* (2004:150-151) Lefkowitz claims that code-switching between Arabic and Hebrew among Israeli Arabs only occurs in special cases. “[T]he fact that Palestinian Israelis do not, in general, switch between Arabic and Hebrew in casual conversation stands out in Israel because many other kinds of code-switching as an unmarked choice [...] are common”. He gives an example on code-switching from an Israeli hospital’s emergency room, where he observed Israeli Palestinian personnel switch casually between Hebrew and Arabic during work breaks. He explains this by saying that in that particular place, Hebrew was defined as the language to be used by the personnel, even when such use violated broader

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<sup>41</sup> I assume he refers to *fuṣḥā* here as he speaks of ‘high’ language functions.

societal norms. However, other researchers within the field, such as Bernard Spolsky, Elana Shuhamy and Amara report to have found that code-switching between Arabic and Hebrew does in fact occur frequently among the Israeli Palestinians, at least with regard to certain topics (Amara 2006:465, Amara 2002:57). However, the material they present in their research is labelled as ‘borrowing’.

In *Language, Identity and Social Division* (1994:170) Ben Rafael writes about his observations during visits to Israeli Arab schools, where the pupils were borrowing extensively from Hebrew into their Arabic vernacular. He refers to Immanuel Koplewitz’ investigations from 1990, on the use of Hebrew lexemes in Israeli spoken Arabic, which confirms his findings. Koplewitz’ investigations indicated the penetration of Hebrew lexemes belonging to topics like institutions (*kupat cholim* for health clinic and *monit* for taxi), patterns of social organizations (*ramzor* for traffic light, or *chofesh* for vacation) or typically Israeli Hebrew expressions (*shalom* for hello), in addition to technological and professional terms and neologisms. Based on Koplewitz’ and his own investigations, Ben Rafael speculates whether one sees a phenomenon of language convergence, and whether this reflects a specific Israeli-Arabic cultural identity (ibid.).

Amara’s main research focus has been on Israeli Palestinians in the Israeli Arab villages. In “The Construct of Identity in a Divided Palestinian Village: Sociolinguistic Evidence” (1999), Amara and Spolsky presents findings from a study on language and identity in Barta’a, a village located in Northern Israel on the Green Line, which effectively divides the village in two. West Barta’a is essentially an Israeli Arab village, and East Barta’a is a Palestinian village, although the formal boundary was removed in 1967. According to Amara and Spolsky, the social division between the two areas still exists, and this is reflected in the inhabitants’ speech. Through analysis of actual speech, they found that there are differences in use of lexical items as well as key phonological and morphological features between the inhabitants of the two parts of Barta’a. In addition, they found that the villagers themselves claim to be able to tell from which of the two parts of the village a Barta’an is, by his or her way of speaking, although the features they reported to be different, varied from one informant to the next. They also found that the Israeli West-Barta’a residents have a higher percentage of Hebrew lexical items in their speech than the residents of East Barta’a. One explanation they offer for this social and sociolinguistic division is the social, political and cultural differences, which has been maintained by the two areas being under different leadership. The West Barta’ans are for example more exposed to Hebrew formally, as it is

taught in Israeli Arab schools from the third grade, and informally through interaction, though in varying degrees, with Jewish Israelis.

They further argue that in addition to the sociolinguistic factors correlating with the political and demographic differences, attitudinal factors may also contribute to explaining the sociolinguistic differences between the two areas. When exploring identity markers among the Barta'ans they found that the most important identity marker for both West and East Barta'ans was 'Muslim', but that this was not manifested in speech. In West Barta'a 'Arab' was the second most important identity, followed by 'Palestinian', whilst in East, the opposite was found. In West, those identifying themselves as 'Arab' tended to use more Standard Arabic (SA) features, while in East, the identity marker 'Palestinian', correlated mostly with the usage of SA features. Amara and Spolsky also found that "[T]he two halves differ in their perception of Israeli identity, which in the western section constitutes a part of their multi-identity and thus another linguistic and prestige resource [...] available to them in daily life. The Eastern Barta'ans react negatively to this Israeli identity" (ibid.:93), and that although inhabitants from both East and West Barta'a claim to be Palestinians, this term is 'functional' in the East and 'symbolical' in the West, in the sense that in the Eastern section a Palestinian identity often correlated with a higher usage of SA lexical items, while in the Western section "being identified as Palestinian does not lead to either linguistic (e.g. towards Standard Arabic) or political action (e.g. in taking an active role in the Intifada)" (ibid.:93-94). I argue that Amara and Spolsky's findings, which point in the direction that the West Barta'ans are more oriented towards the Israeli society, both socially and linguistically, compared to the East Barta'ans, may support Ben Rafael's speculations concerning a specific Israeli-Arabic cultural identity.

Among Amara's works is also a study from the Arab Israeli village Zalafa in the North of Israel, on the relation between the usage of English and Hebrew lexical items in the inhabitants' Arabic speech and their degree of acculturation. It was expected that the usage of English and Hebrew lexical items would vary with the speakers' occupation, education, religious observance, outside contact with Jews, gender and age. Amara's findings confirmed this. He also found that the usage of Hebrew changed according to different speech styles. He divides the speakers' way of speaking into three different styles: 'careful' style, 'casual' style and 'intimate' style. The careful style is the style they used in the interviews and it is the most formal one. During participating observations the speakers used casual style which, according to Amara, is the everyday speech used in informal situations. The intimate style is the most

informal style, used in Zalafa with close friends, very close family and lovers. In the careful style the speakers used the lowest percentage of Hebrew lexical items. In addition, Amara noticed an increase in the use of *fuṣḥā* lexical items, and explains this with the Arabic diglossic situation. The intimate style had next to lowest percentage of Hebrew lexical items. He explains this with a solidarity effect, which he argues may reduce the use of Hebrew. It was in the casual style he observed the highest occurrence of Hebrew lexical items. The use of English lexemes on the other hand, did not differ noticeable between the three styles (Amara 1995).

### **3.7.2 Attitudes, prestige and motivation**

I have somewhat anticipated the events, by presenting some of Lefkowitz' findings concerning the Hebrew varieties, and their power in negotiating social identity.

Researchers within the field such as Amara (1999:98) and Spolsky and Shuhamy (1999:103) argue that Israeli Arabs' motivations for learning Hebrew are instrumental. They learn it as the language of the country, and it is necessary to know in order to function in public life.

Koplewitz claims that Israeli Palestinians are fluent in Hebrew but that there is not a matter of cultural or linguistic assimilation. He further notes that some acquire Hebrew as their main language for 'high' language functions, something which I will argue, indicates that he also intends to say that their motivations for learning Hebrew are instrumental and not integrative. However, Amara argues that Hebrew is not only used to fill lexical gaps, but also to 'show off', as Hebrew is associated with progress and the modern outside world for the Israeli Palestinians (2002:62). Hebrew and Arabic are valued differently and while he argues that their motivations for learning Hebrew are instrumental, it seems that he believes that the main reasons for learning Arabic, presumably *fuṣḥā*, although this is not specified, are more integrative: "Israeli Arabs are aware of Arabic as a rich, beautiful and prestigious language; learning Hebrew is therefore for them a means of achieving standards of socio-economic development similar to those found among Israeli Jews in the social, educational and economic spheres" (1999:98). I believe that Amara here gives way for his own views and attitudes towards Arabic. By using the expression *aware of*, he indicates that Arabic de facto is a rich, beautiful and prestigious language.

### **3.7.3 The status of *fuṣḥā* among Israeli Palestinians**

In "Arabic Diglossia in the Classroom: Assumptions and Reality" (1988) Amara presents his findings from a study of the usage of Arabic as language of instruction in the classrooms in

three Arab Israeli villages located in Northern Israel. He found that *fushā* was by no means the only variety used as language of instruction, but rather that the use of an intermediate variety, what he calls Educated Spoken Variety (ESV) was most frequently used, together with Spoken Variety (SV). In Arabic language classes, where the norms dictate that Standard Arabic (SA) is the only language of instruction to be used, he observed that an approximation towards SA was attempted but partially due to lack of proficiency in SA, this failed, and either SV or ESV was used instead (ibid.:140). He also points to another reason for why SA is not used exclusively in the classroom, despite the norms dictating this. As discussed in 3.5.1.1 the usage of SA may elicit ridicule depending on the topic, for instance if a student is telling a joke, it is considered strange to speak SA.

Amara claims that the use of another language, Hebrew in Israeli Arab minority's case, particularly in natural sciences is partly due to the lack of terminology in Arabic<sup>42</sup>. Hence publications in SA are limited to the human- and social sciences, while the natural sciences are completely or partially studied in another language, Hebrew in this case, as well as SV. He uses mathematics as an example. The books are in Hebrew and Hebrew is used together with SV as the language of instruction, rather than ESV or SA. His findings coincide with other studies on the subject, as discussed in 3.5. It should be noted here that according to Amara (2002:64) the lack of proficiency in SA in Israel among the teachers is partly due to the Israeli state's concern with security rather than proficiency when hiring Arab teachers.

Ben Rafael (1994:171) on his part claims that despite the subordination of *fushā* in the Israeli setting, the proficiency in *fushā* is nevertheless a major criterion of status within the Arabic society.

### 3.8 Hypothesis and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the Israeli Palestinians' position between the two rather conflicting societies and cultures, the Israeli and the Palestinian, is reflected in their attitudes towards, and reported usage of Hebrew: Ashkenazi Hebrew (AH) and Mizrahi Hebrew (MH), Arabic: *fushā* and *‘ammiyya*, English and code switching between the mentioned varieties. It shall also examine how the Arabic diglossia language situation influences their attitudes towards the mentioned varieties and reported language usage.

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<sup>42</sup> This is not a phenomenon special for Israel, *Ta ‘rīb al- ‘ulūm* is a well-known challenge and subjected to debate in most Arab countries.

Due to the Arab Israeli minority's status in the Israeli society (c.f.2) I initially assumed that the attitudes towards Hebrew would be generally negative, being the language of the 'superior other'. I further assumed that the general attitudes towards Arabic, *fuṣḥā* in particular, would be positive, linking the Israeli Arabs to the Arab world and to Arab history and culture.

With Hebrew being not only the language of the discriminating majority but also the language of the state, the picture could be expected to be more complex with Hebrew playing an important part in many aspects of Israeli Arabs' lives. In addition the Israeli language policies makes *fuṣḥā* seemingly superfluous as a high variety, and consequently *fuṣḥā* may play a less important part among this group compared to those living in Arab countries.

In order to explore how and to what degree the urban Israeli Palestinians' complex socio-political situation and the Arabic diglossia play a part in their language attitudes and reported usage, I will look into how this is reflected in the five following factors:

- *Prestige*

Do the mentioned codes have prestige? If so, what kind, and how does this stand in relation with the reported usage?

- *Integrative and instrumental motivation*

How do they report on their motivations for learning and using the mentioned codes? Is this distinction a useful one?

- *Attitudes towards code-switching*

Are their attitudes towards code-switching positive or negative?

- *Correspondence between language attitudes and reported usage.*

Do the attitudes towards the various codes correspond with the speakers' reported language usage?

- *The speakers' reported reasons for their choices of code.*

What do the speakers report as their reasons for using the various codes and what are their reported reasons for avoiding them?

## Chapter Four: Methodology

### 4.1 The choice of methods

In collecting the data for my thesis I have combined qualitative and quantitative method by using participating observation, interviews and a questionnaire.

The initial aim of the study was to identify different types of code-switching in the urban Israeli Palestinian speech community based on samples of natural speech. I soon though, realized that my access to natural speech was limited in two ways. Firstly because most of my informants have high proficiency in English, and outside the interview setting it was the natural language between us. Although I had proficiency in Syrian and Egyptian *‘ammiyya* and Hebrew, I was not fluent, and I therefore assumed that the speakers would adjust their way of speaking according to my language proficiency and hence, elicitation of natural speech would not give me the results I needed for such a study. Secondly, I had limited access to the speakers’ private sphere over time, and could therefore not make observations of natural speech.

When undertaking the fieldwork though, I soon discovered that the members of the speech community were highly engaged in, and had interesting views and reflections concerning their language situation. My focus therefore shifted from code-switching to language attitudes and reported language usage. The way people say they speak tend to be influenced by how they believe they ought to speak, and as such it is often difficult to trust what people say about the way they speak (c.f. 3). However, through interviews and informal conversations about language usage, it is exactly the attitudes which become visible. Through participating observation I had the chance to listen to actual speech, and by developing a questionnaire, I obtained information on language attitudes from a larger amount of people. I found it useful to combine qualitative and quantitative method, as the one has weaknesses the other may work to minimize (Grønmo 1996:75 and 106).

### 4.2 The fieldwork

I conducted my fieldwork in the Israeli mixed cities, Haifa and Jaffa over the periods of September to December 2007, and February to May 2008. I chose to do my fieldwork among urban Israeli Palestinians because they to a larger degree are exposed to Hebrew, both AH and MH compared to rural Israeli Palestinians, due to the fact that they live, study and work in a mixed environment of both Jews and Arabs. My assumption was that this, together with



Hebrew being the language of instruction would lead this group to switch frequently between Arabic and Hebrew. I also assumed that urban residents, due to them often having higher education also are frequently exposed to English.

#### **4.2.1 Participating observation**

Prior to the fieldwork I had contacted a NGO in Haifa, which is run by 1948 Arabs (c.f.2.1) and who works with Arab youth in the Haifa district. I did not work at the NGO, however I socialized with the staff of the NGO on a daily basis. I also shared an apartment with one of the women working there, and came in contact with other members of the speech community through her. This is a group which socialize little with members from the Jewish majority, and even though qualitative research focuses on a small group of individuals, one should as a researcher aim to collect data which is representative for the whole community studied (Akselberg og Mæhlum 2003:76-77). I therefore also contacted a centre in Haifa working for coexistence between Arabs and Jews in order to get informants from a more mixed environment. I volunteered at the centre's library a few days a week, where my tasks were mainly to help Arab children with their homework. The centre-staff is composed of both Jews and Arabs and the staff-members are used to switching between both languages regularly during the course of the day. Most of the children attending the library are Arabs.

In Jaffa I came in contact with my informants at cafés, centres working for coexistence in Jaffa and through friends. During my visits to Tel Aviv-Jaffa from Haifa during the first period of the fieldwork and when I lived there in the second period of the fieldwork, I had the chance to meet with my Jaffa informants on several occasions and we had informal conversations about the language situation. Although the vast part of my participating observation took place in Haifa, I also had the chance to speak with many Arabs from Jaffa, and observe speech by spending time in Jaffa cafes and other public places.

#### **4.2.2 The interviews**

About a month into my fieldwork I started conducting interviews. The interviews were carried out in Arabic, and I aimed at asking the questions in Palestinian dialect, however drawing on my proficiency in Egyptian and Syrian dialect and occasionally on *fuṣṣḥā* when needed. When in lack of certain vocabulary, I would try to formulate the questions differently and only on rare occasions would I use the English or Hebrew equivalent. The interviewees spoke in Arabic throughout the interviews. The interviews were carried out in the interviewee's natural environments, either at their home, or location of work or studies. All of

the interviews were one to one interviews and semi-structured. For this purpose I used an interview-guide (c.f. Appendix C) and adjusted the questions to what I knew about the informants' background and life situation. In addition I asked follow-up questions on related subjects which the informant brought up.

On approval of the informants I recorded the interviews. I used an ipod Nano with an attachable microphone, which is rather small, and seemed not to disturb the interviewees. Whether or not they would have given other information or related other reflections if I had not recorded the interviews is impossible to tell, but it did not seem to make any of them feel uncomfortable. I found it to be a great advantage to have the interviews on tape. By listening to the interviews afterwards, I captured statements that I would have missed if I had only taken notes from the interviews.

The first interview lasted for about ten minutes, but since this was with the informant I had most contact with during observations, I chose not to interview this person again. Three interviews lasted for about half an hour, whereas one for around 50 minutes. One informant I met twice, with each interview lasting for about 15 minutes.

As my purpose was not to analyze the language usage from a grammatical perspective, I did not make full transcriptions of the interviews. I have translated them into English, and made transcriptions of the parts I use as examples of language usage in the analysis. Where the Arabic vocabulary may be open for different interpretations, I give a transcription of the Arabic word in parenthesis.

#### **4.2.3 Critique of qualitative method**

As is characteristic for qualitative data, the information I gathered through the participating observation and the interviews was very specific and subjective. A seemingly typical dilemma is that data obtained through these types of methods often is influenced by the researcher's feelings and expectations, what Barabara Johnstone calls 'unconscious theories' concerning what one observes or is going to observe (Johnstone 2000:23). In addition, the informants may also, although unconsciously, provide information based on what he or she values as important for the research, or in order to satisfy the researcher. It is thus imperative to have this in mind when analysing the data.

#### **4.2.4 The questionnaire**

The advantage with a questionnaire is that one can obtain information from a larger segment of the community, and the researcher does not have to be in direct contact with the informants

as it can be distributed with the help of others. This means that as soon as a proper questionnaire is made, it is not as time-consuming as the qualitative method.

The first questionnaire I worked out consisted of a small amount of closed questions, with a list of answer-alternatives the participant could choose from, and a larger amount of open questions, where the participant could write down the answers in free text. When I distributed it in Haifa and Jaffa I discovered that the open questions had a tendency not to be answered. I assume that a combination of many weaknesses proved this first questionnaire not to be useful. It was long and contained many open questions and the questions proved not to be sufficiently clear or precise. In addition, I did not take into consideration the differences between the groups among which I distributed it. My first meeting with Israeli Palestinians were people who had very little contact, if any, with Jews outside the public sphere. Therefore I did not emphasize in the text that the questions concerned interactions between Arabs. I did not for instance ask; 'In which language do you speak when talking to your Arab friends about X', but only: 'In which language do you speak when talking to your friends about X'. This formulation was clear to the group of informants who do not mix with Jews on private basis, but it caused confusion among those who have both Jewish and Arab friends. I also detected confusion around my choice of the word '*al-lahja al-filistiniyya*'. For some this was the normal term referring to dialect, while others asked if I, by this term, referred to *al-ʿammiyya al-filistiniyya*.

My informants mostly referred to Arabic, both *fuṣḥā* and *ʿammiyya*, as *al-ʿarabī* or *ʿarabī*. Due to this, although aware of it being unconventional grammatically, I wrote '*al-ʿarabī, al-fuṣḥā*' and '*al-ʿarabī, al-ʿammiyya*', when referring to the two varieties in the questionnaire (c.f. Appendix A).

From the preparation of the first questionnaire I learnt the importance of keeping the questions precise and clear and of keeping it as short as possible in order to keep the participants attentive throughout the entire questionnaire. The results from the first questionnaire also indicated that closed questions would be answered more often than open questions and thus the second questionnaire consisted of a relatively high amount of closed questions. I also learnt the importance of testing the questionnaire on a smaller group prior to distributing it. I had only let one of my informants go through the first questionnaire prior to its distribution and this proved not to be sufficient, thus the second questionnaire was read through by three different people.

I distributed the questionnaire in various cafes as well as to Arab-Jewish coexistence centres in Haifa and Jaffa. I presented my research to the staff, and with their help it was distributed among members and guests.

In my experience, the making of a useful questionnaire was relatively time-consuming. I also met some challenges concerning the distribution. During the distribution of the first questionnaire I discovered that when giving it to some of my informants for them to distribute, they would consider it their personal responsibility to get people to answer it and would sometimes read the questions out loud and even do the crossings for the participants. In this way there could be a chance that they influenced the answers. Because of this, I tried to be present during the distribution of the second questionnaire. In this manner I could also answer potential questions related to the questionnaire.

### **4.3 The informants**

As my aim was to study urban Israeli Arabs, I required that the informants lived in Haifa or Jaffa. It was not necessary that they originated from the two cities, only that they were members of the Arab minority in Israel. Apart from place of dwelling and my aim to obtain informants from at least two different environments, the selection of informants was relatively random, simply depending on with whom I came in contact. Societal variables such as religious affinity were not important to me. However, I made an effort to obtain interviewees from both genders and different age groups in order to make the group of informants as representative as possible for the speech group. Johnstone (2000:90) notes that: “professional stranger handlers are people who are atypical in some way”. In my case I got in touch with people who in one way or the other were used to socializing with foreigners, and as such may have had better proficiency in English and a more open and flexible view on things than other members of the group. Even so, they came from different environments and they expressed different attitudes on the language situation.

Concerning the questionnaire participants, I also required that they were members of the Arab minority and that they were between 17-60 years.

#### **4.3.1 The informants and myself**

I was categorized by members of both Arab and Jewish community, as either an Ashkenazi, a member of the Russian immigrants, or as a foreigner. Thus people would speak to me in Hebrew or Russian, just as often as in English.

The fact that I had proficiency in Arabic as well as personal experience from living in different Arab countries, seemed to have a positive impact on Israeli Palestinians' impression of me. My personal experiences from Arab countries which they today can only dream of visiting, like Syria or Lebanon, but which nevertheless are a big part of their history and culture, I believe made it easier for me to get in contact with members of this group. It may also be that the fact that I had relatively good knowledge of the Israeli society, and some proficiency in Hebrew, presented me as a person with objective views and as such more able to understand the, often conflicting, issues discussed in the speech community.

#### **4.3.2 The interviewees**

In what follows I will give a brief presentation of the interviewees. They are listed alphabetically from A-F.

A: A woman in her late 20's. She works at a NGO in Haifa which agenda is to teach the Arab/ Palestinian youth in Israel about their history, and make them aware of their Palestinian identity. She identifies herself as Palestinian, and does not socialize a lot with Jews. She was active in coexistence work before the October event in 2000 (c.f. 2), but lost her belief in coexistence after the incident. She went to primary and secondary school where the educational language was Arabic. She lives in Haifa and is Christian<sup>43</sup>.

B: A woman in her mid 30's. She works as an occupational therapist with disabled Arab children. She identifies herself as a Palestinian woman and as a feminist and does not see herself as a 'typical Arab woman'. She does not socialize a lot with Jews and went to primary and secondary school where educational language was Arabic. She lives in Haifa and is Christian.

C: A woman in her mid 20's. She is a student at the Tel Aviv University. She has both Arab and Jewish friends. She went to private foreign primary and secondary school where the language of instruction was mainly French. She lives in Jaffa and is Muslim.

D: A man in his 50's. He works at a coexistence centre for children in Haifa. He went to primary and secondary school where the language of instruction was Arabic. He lives in Haifa and is Muslim.

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<sup>43</sup> I simply state the informants' religious affinity here, however this says nothing about their religious practise.

E: A woman in her late 20's or in the beginning of her 30's. She is a psychologist and works in Haifa with both Jewish and Arab clients. She went to primary and secondary school where the language of instruction was Arabic. She lives in Haifa and is Christian.

F: A man in his 50's. He works at an office with an international environment. According to others he defines himself as an Israeli Arab. He studied at a private school where the languages of instruction were Hebrew, Arabic and English. He lives in Jaffa and is Muslim.

### **4.3.3 The participants of the questionnaire**

Out of some 70 questionnaires distributed, I received 39 back answered, out of which 38 met my criteria for being used in the study.

In Jaffa, the café and the Arab Jewish centre both had a coexistence policy, whereas the main distribution place in Haifa, a café in the German Colony area (1.4.2), often organized or housed art exhibitions or theatre plays with focus on the Israeli Palestinian conflict and Arab culture and history.

I decided not to analyse the results separately, nor to focus on societal variables in the questionnaire. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, I have not found correlations deemed to be significant, although there were some differences in the answers between the two cities. However, these differences do not depart from what I expected due to the different environments in Haifa and Jaffa where the questionnaire was distributed. For example in Haifa at the café, the answers reflected more positive attitudes towards *fuṣḥā*, and more negative attitudes towards Hebrew, while in Jaffa at the café and Arab Jewish centre, the answers reflected more positive attitudes towards Hebrew. However these trends only reflect the environment and not the cities, as people tend to be drawn to environments which represent their attitudes. Secondly, due to limitations of time, I also found it to be time- and space consuming.

## **4.4 Ethical questions**

I have kept all the informants anonymous. As mentioned, the interviews were recorded upon approval from the interviewee. I assured the interviewees that their identity will not be revealed, and we had a verbal agreement about this prior to the interview. The question of anonymity seemed not to be an important issue for the informants involved.

Although not all informants seemed to understand exactly what the purpose of my study was, I kept an open dialog with them about the subject of the thesis.

## Chapter Five: Results and discussion

In this chapter I shall present and discuss my material in relation to the five factors introduced in 3.8 with the aim to answer to what degree urban Israeli Palestinians' socio-political situation is reflected in their attitudes towards, and reported usage of the codes in their linguistic repertoire, and further how the Arabic diglossic language situation influences their language attitudes and reported choices of code.

I start by looking at reported usage and code preference in 5.1 in order to get a general impression of reflections on language usage in the speech community. In 5.2 I discuss the mentioned codes' prestige and covert prestige. The speakers' possible motivations for learning and using these codes are explored in 5.3. Even though I touch upon the subject of code-switching while discussing these issues, I look at attitudes towards code-switching separately in 5.4. I also look at the correspondence between the informants' attitudes towards code-switching and their language usage here. In 5.4.2 the informants' reported reasons for their choices and their intentional code choice are explored, and in 5.4.3, I will point to the speakers' perception of *fushā* as a possible factor influencing their usage of Hebrew lexical items. At the end of the chapter, in 5.4.4, I present examples from my material of reported and actual usage of Hebrew lexical items in Arabic.

Questionnaire answers relevant for the subjects addressed are discussed in the beginning in each sub-chapter. The questions are marked with a hash key followed by their number in the questionnaire. A survey of the questionnaire results is given in Appendix B. In what will become evident in the course of this chapter, I have not used information from #1-9<sup>44</sup>, #20 A and B and #25 as these questions proved not to give relevant information for this thesis. The participants were given the possibility to answer more than one alternative in many of the questions (c.f. Appendix A and B) hence many of the answers are various combinations of the code alternatives, something which proved to complicate the interpretation of the answers. This points to the importance of usability tests of the questionnaire (c.f. 4.2.4).

Following the discussion of the questionnaire answers, a selection of relevant statements from the interviews and informal conversations are presented and discussed. I refer to the interviewees using the letters A to F, as they are presented in 4.3.2, and the interview statements are numbered 1-38.

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<sup>44</sup> #1-3 brought however out information concerning the participants' age, sex and place of origin, which was useful to me in order to secure that the participants met my criteria.

## 5.1 Reported usage and code preference

The questionnaire results concern mainly reported usage. The distinction between reported usage and code preference became evident during the interviews when the informants elaborated on their language choices. Due to the state's macro-structure and the Arabic diglossic situation as discussed in 2 and 3.4, I shall treat spoken and written communication separately in this sub-chapter.

### 5.1.1 Questionnaire

#### 5.1.1.1 Reported usage in spoken communication

A relatively high number of the participants report to mix Arabic and Hebrew (#10 and #12). These results may tell us that it is not considered solely negative to mix Arabic with Hebrew words and expressions (c.f. 3.5.3).

Hebrew, and to a smaller extent *‘āmmiyya*, seem to be the most common codes to use when one needs to ask strangers for directions in the streets of Haifa or Jaffa (#14 A). Many report that they make their language choices in order for everyone to understand or because it is the most used language in this situation (#14B), and this indicates a pragmatic view on the usage of language in this context. It is, however, interesting that some of the participants report to use a mix of Arabic and Hebrew here. It is interesting partly because most of these report the reasons for their code choice to be the same as the above mentioned, and partly because some of the informants claim that the choice of code often depends on whether one is talking to a Jew or an Arab (c.f. 5.1.2.1). Based on this, it may be plausible to assume that they do not mean to say that they actually mix the two languages but that they use both languages depending on with whom they speak.

Almost half of the participants report to prefer *‘āmmiyya* in dubbed movies (#18). This indicates that when it comes to listening, *‘āmmiyya* is the preferred code. The way I see it, this is natural, as *‘āmmiyya* is their native language. The fact that seven participants do not prefer any language at all may come of the fact that it is not normal to dub movies in Israel, nor in most Arab countries, as far as I am aware. Even though Israeli Arabs are more exposed to Hebrew than English in daily life, the fact that almost an equal number of participants prefer English and Hebrew may again be explained with dubbing not being widespread, and hence people are used to hearing the original language in English speaking movies.



The participants' self-reported proficiency in #21-24 shows, not surprisingly, that most consider themselves to have highest proficiency in understanding and speaking 'āmmiyya. A high number of the participants report to have a higher proficiency in understanding and speaking Hebrew than *fuṣḥā*. These answers are also not very surprising, I will argue, as *fuṣḥā* in principal is a variety of the written domain (c.f.3.4). A slightly higher number of participants report their proficiency in understanding and speaking *fuṣḥā* as stronger than English.

### **5.1.1.2 Reported usage in written communication**

Relatively many report to write a personal letter in *fuṣḥā* but to type in Hebrew (#15 and #17). The most popular reported reasons for their language choice in typing, is that it is the easiest language to use or that it is the most used language (#17B). However, it is not specified in #15 whether it is a handwritten or typed letter. Topic may be a choice regulator in #15, as many might view the style in a personal letter to be a more intimate style than the language in SMS, E-mail or chatting, and therefore most view Arabic as a more suitable language than Hebrew for this type of communication. The reason most report to use *fuṣḥā* over 'āmmiyya may reflect that it is the 'correct' Arabic variety in written communication. A personal letter may also be written as an e-mail, and thus it might be that to many, 'a personal letter' is a handwritten letter. The results may thus reflect that many find typing easier in Hebrew while handwriting is at least just as easy in Arabic as in Hebrew.

Many of the participants answer Hebrew as the language in which s/he usually reads the daily newspaper (#16). Some of the participants claim that the reason for them reporting Hebrew here is due to the limited access to Arabic newspapers in Haifa and Jaffa. However, the relatively high number saying that they prefer to read Hebrew to *fuṣḥā* in subtitles (#19) may indicate that many do in fact prefer to read Hebrew over *fuṣḥā*. This is also supported by the answers to #22-24. The participants' self-reported proficiency shows that most consider themselves to have a higher proficiency in reading and writing Hebrew than *fuṣḥā*. Most participants report their proficiency in reading and writing *fuṣḥā* as higher than English.

## **5.1.2 Interviews**

### **5.1.2.1 Reported and preferred usage in spoken communication**

The questionnaire answers point to relatively many reporting to mix Hebrew and Arabic in informal speech (c.f. 5.1.1.1). Statements from the six interviews show that although no one

claims not to mix Arabic Hebrew, most of them express a preference to speak Arabic without inserting Hebrew lexical items.

1a:A

We have to speak Hebrew in education, work, everywhere, even in any simple event. So the Arab language is becoming very mixed with Hebrew. Many are speaking Arabic and are using a lot of Hebrew words, and this is not a good situation.

1b:A

(A) I used to use more Hebrew words. Now I am using, or I am trying to use only Arabic words.

(I)<sup>45</sup> Do you have to think, to be conscious about your language, in order not to use Hebrew words?

(A) No, little, very seldom.

2:E

It is very difficult, today, sometimes when I speak, even at work and the like, I have to \*switch\*<sup>46</sup>. I work in Arabic and Hebrew environments, I am seldom at the office [...] I have to switch, I speak Hebrew with these and Arabic with those. And even when I speak Arabic I try to speak the whole sentence in Arabic [...]. It is very difficult, I lessen the [Hebrew] words (*kalimāt*), and I think about them [Arabic words] [...] and they can be there (*mawjūd*), but it is not something like, you cannot just take it out of the lexicon fast, it is something which takes time from you [...] in therapy the reaction needs to be fast.

3:D

At home, I speak with my friends in Arabic, and with my wife (*ahli*)<sup>47</sup> in Arabic, and with my children in Arabic, but sometimes interference/insertions (*mudaxalāt bi*) of Hebrew may occur, a word or two, but we are trying. If it were not for the interruption (*inqiṭāʿ*) if there were continuance, the whole sentence would be in Arabic. [...] Most of the day you speak Hebrew, so when you come home, a Hebrew word here and there may enter. But most of the days we seek to speak complete Arabic (*kāmilatan*)<sup>48</sup> inside, at home. [...] For example when someone say *kīf ḥālak* (Arabic: how are you), so we answer *besedeR* (Hebrew: good), meaning good (*mnīḥ*), instead of saying *kīf ḥālak*, they say *ma nishma* (Hebrew: how are you)[...]. We are trying to lessen these [Hebrew] words, because Arabic is very important to us at home.

A, E and D say they prefer to speak Arabic without insertions of Hebrew lexical items.

E and D note that the fact that because they have to switch between the two languages as they

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<sup>45</sup> (I): myself

<sup>46</sup> Words written between two asterisks (\*), is said in English during the interviews.

<sup>47</sup> *Ahl* literary means the family or relatives but it is also a way of referring to the wife. I assume D here refers to his wife due to him never referring to his wife as *maratī* or *zūjetī*, but using the word *ahli* where it is in my view normal that he speaks about his wife, as here and in statement (25) below.

<sup>48</sup> The meaning of the word *kāmil* may be 'perfect' or 'whole/complete'. In the interviews, informant C (14b) and D (3) use it as opposed to Arabic with insertions of Hebrew lexical items. I have therefore translated it into 'complete'. I thus interpret their use of the word *kāmil* as referring to Arabic without insertions of Hebrew lexical items and not as referring to *fuṣḥā*.

speak with both Jews and Arabs in the course of the day, they find it difficult not to mix Hebrew lexical items into their Arabic speech. A also points to this, but nevertheless claims she does not have to think much to speak ‘complete’ Arabic. In these statements their reported reasons for mixing the two languages seem to be that they live in a mixed environment.

In the following statement F describes how he chooses language so everybody can understand what he is saying and so to prevent misunderstandings. He too, points to the reason for Israeli Arabs mixing the two languages being that they live in a mixed environment.

4:F

Sometimes, if we have guests I prefer to speak Hebrew in order for them to understand. So I speak with my wife (*maratī*) or my children [in Hebrew] [...] so the guests do not think that I am making fun of them [...] so they understand what we are talking about [...] with Arab friends of course I speak Arabic, but if there are foreigners or Jews present, it is not nice to speak a language that everybody cannot understand. But if all are Arabs, of course we speak Arabic, we mix in some words in Hebrew [...] a word here and there [...]. We use the word *besedeR*, (Hebrew literary: in order, meaning here: OK/ fine) we do not use the word *ḥāḍar* (Arabic: ready/ present, often used in the meaning of OK), [...] we do not use *maḥaṭṭa* (Arabic: station), we say *tachana* (Hebrew: station) [...] things that we are surrounded by daily we say in Hebrew, between the Arabs [...] it is difficult to remember them in Arabic, because you forget them, when they are so little used.

I asked B about what language she uses in interactions with strangers.

5:B

(B) It depends with whom, with Arabs I speak Arabic and with Jews I speak Hebrew.

(I) What if you do not know, or do you always know?

(B) No, I do not always know, but it depends on what I think, it has happened many times that I said to Jewish girls, I spoke with them in Arabic, or Jewish people [...] and I asked them: Arabs? And they said No! And they became angry/annoyed (*zi‘lū*).

B here indicates like F, that she chooses the language she thinks is best understood by her interlocutors. B’s statement supports F’s reported choice of code based on the worry to create misunderstandings.

B’s statement also serves as an example of reported language usage shared by several of my informants (c.f. (18), (19) and (20) in 5.2.2.2), namely that choices of code in interaction with strangers are based on their assessments of the stranger being an Arab or a Jew. Answers to #14 point to Hebrew and, although to a smaller degree, *‘ammiyya* being the most common codes to choose when speaking with strangers. This is also supported in the

statements in 5.2.2.2. This supports my argument in 5.1.1.1 that those participants who report to mix the two languages may actually mean that they assess their interlocutor's ethnic background and thus may use both languages in interaction with strangers. I shall look at the factors on which the informants base their assessments in 5.2.2.2.

### 5.1.2.2 Reported and preferred usage in written communication

As already mentioned many of the participants in the questionnaire reported to write personal letters in *fushā* and to type in Hebrew. I argued that this could be topic based or that most find typing in Hebrew generally easier (c.f. 5.1.1.2). From the interview statements it seems that many report to write about work and study related issues in Hebrew, whether handwritten or typed. This indicates that it is topic based. I asked B and D in which language s/he wrote lecture notes, when s/he studied at university.

6:B

In Hebrew, easier (*'ahwan*), you know<sup>49</sup> \*it is much easier to handle one language\* because you are speaking in only one language, you are thinking in one language, because sometimes it is very.. If you listen to one language and write in one [another] language, it takes a long time [...] even at work I write Hebrew sometimes, when I write something official or if I write something about the family [of the children, i.e. clients], I start in Arabic and finish in Hebrew, because I studied in Hebrew [...] this is the problem.

7:D

Everything in Hebrew, the notes were in Hebrew, even in the daily life, I write in Hebrew [...] I write [the sentence] from the beginning to the end in Hebrew, when it comes to Arabic, it may start in Arabic, and a word or name of a person may be in Hebrew, but usually it may be Arabic here and then I finish in Hebrew, but it depends how.

I asked E about when she studied at university and which language she would prefer to write the papers in if it was possible to write them in Arabic.

8:E

I would write in Arabic if we learnt the terms in Arabic. I mean it is very difficult for me. Right, I was very clever in Arabic at school. I wrote essays in Arabic and things like that. And my Arabic, compared to the other pupils in the class of course, was very good. But when you go on to university and start learning the subjects in Hebrew, it became difficult for me to write [...] I do not know the words (*kalimāt*) in Arabic. But if I learnt them in Arabic, it is clear that I would like (*biḥibb*) to write in Arabic.

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<sup>49</sup> The Arabic word *ya nī* has slightly different meanings depending on the context. I translate it into, 'so', 'I mean', 'you know' and 'that is to say' depending on the context.

All three report Hebrew to be the easiest language to write in and they argue the reasons for this being the Israeli macrostructure (c.f. 3.1), and the fact that they work in a mixed environment. In the following statements we see that Hebrew or English is reported to be used in typing, seemingly independent of topic, either due to lack of Arabic language support on the telephone or computer, or because it is considered the easiest.

I asked B and D what language s/he prefers to use in e-mail, SMS and chatting.

9:B

When I had the [technical] gear (*jihāz*) with Arabic support (*da 'em*) [...] I used Arabic, but now I do not have it, it is either Hebrew or English, and I prefer English. But I have friends who write with English letters but in Arabic, have you seen it? So sometimes, with a couple of them, I do it, but I do a lot of mistakes, because I am not used to it [...] but most of the time in English.

(I) And what about e-mail and the like?

(B) English usually, but if it is to a professor at the university or to my colleague who is Jewish, I write to them in Hebrew.

10:D

No, the easiest is Hebrew, there is no Arabic on the phone, if there was in Arabic, I would use it a little, but if it was, I would prefer Hebrew, it is easier for me, even in e-mail, meaning, if I send e-mail I prefer Hebrew[...] I send [e-mail] in Arabic, but I send a lot in Hebrew. There is another way, there are Arabs who are using the English language, for instance if they say *marhaba* (Arabic: hello) they put /m/ in English, /r/ in English and for /h/<sup>50</sup> they put seven (7).

The statements above show that the interviewees find it easier to write in Hebrew in both handwriting and typing when the topic concerns work or study and that typing is easiest in Hebrew, independent of topic. Their reported reasons for this seem to be partially due to Hebrew being the language of instruction and partially due to habit. However, they say they would prefer to write in *fushā* had the language of instruction been Arabic. It is also interesting that B says she usually types in English. This points to English being a preferred language over Hebrew for some, which brings us to the languages' prestige.

## 5.2 Prestige and covert prestige

I shall first look at Hebrew in general as related to *fushā*, in view of the discussion of *fushā* as a prestigious variety (c.f. 3.5.1.1). I also look at the status of English where it is relevant for the discussion. Following this I look at the two Hebrew varieties, AH and MH. I treat these

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<sup>50</sup> He pronounces /m/ and /r/ as latin sounds, and /h/ he pronounces as /eh/, and so he does not use the Arabic names of the sounds.

separately due the theoretical claim that AH is considered the most prestigious variety, while MH is considered to have covert prestige among members of the Arab minority and among Mizrahi Jews (c.f. 3.7).

## 5.2.1 Questionnaire

### 5.2.1.1. Arabic, Hebrew and English

*Fuṣḥā* is considered the most beautiful variety by a relatively large part of the participants (#28 E). *Fuṣḥā* also scores highest on the questions concerning which language indicates high social status (#28C) and high culture (#28F). *‘Āmmiyya* is ranked slightly higher than *fuṣḥā* as an identity marker and is ranked second after *fuṣḥā* as the most beautiful language. These answers indicate that *‘āmmiyya* has prestige, but that *fuṣḥā* is considered the most prestigious of the two varieties.

Many of the participants agree to the claim that it is important to use *fuṣḥā* in order for it not to disappear from public life (#27K). This may reflect Israeli Palestinians engagement in the issue of the Arabic language’s status in Israel, which in its turn is linked to the issue of the Israeli Palestinians’ status and position as a minority in the Jewish state (c.f. 2.2 and 2.3). Although the reported usage of *fuṣḥā* in written communication seems to be considerably lower than the attitudes here indicate (c.f. 5.1), this strengthens the indication of *fuṣḥā* as a prestigious variety.

The fact that *fuṣḥā* scores highest in the questions concerning high social status (#28C) and high culture (#28F) supports Ben Rafael’s claim that proficiency in *fuṣḥā* is an important criterion in the rating of status within the Israeli Palestinian society (c.f. 3.7.3). It is, however, interesting that English scores higher than Hebrew in these questions as well as in the question concerning which language makes it easier to get a job (#28D). English is also listed higher than Hebrew as an indicator of economic success (#28B)<sup>51</sup>. These results may point in the direction that English is considered a more prestigious code than Hebrew, and that there is a difference between the urban and rural Israeli Palestinians in this respect. Findings in previous research point to Hebrew as having a higher importance than English among rural Israeli Palestinians (c.f. 3.7). However, most urban dwellers do presumably have a higher proficiency in Hebrew compared to the rural dwellers due to them being more exposed to it. Hence proficiency in Hebrew may be regarded as a natural asset among the

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<sup>51</sup> It should be noted that fourteen of the participants did not answer question #28B.

urban dwellers. In this case, they might take Hebrew for granted, with the result being that they list English as more important.

The participants are divided between agreeing and disagreeing to the claim that there are Hebrew words to which there are no equivalent in Arabic (#27A). These answers may reflect the language situation in two respects. On one hand the imbalance in the Israeli society between the state's two public languages makes *fuṣḥā* the neglected variety, with the consequence that many Israeli Palestinians do not have a high proficiency in *fuṣḥā*, and as such do not know the Arab equivalent to the more common Hebrew lexical item (5.1 and 5.2.2.1). On the other hand does the fact that *fuṣḥā* seems to be considered more prestigious than Hebrew, make some regard *fuṣḥā* as a richer variety than Hebrew. The answers may however also be a result of how the phrase used in the questionnaire was understood by the participants. I used the phrase *kalimāt ʿarabiyya* (c.f. Appendix A), which may refer to one of the two varieties or both. Consequently, some may have understood it as *ʿammiyya* and others as *fuṣḥā*.

#### **5.2.1.2 Hebrew: AH and MH**

Many of the participants report to always or sometimes pronounce the sounds /ʕ/ and /ħ/ when speaking Hebrew (#26). It should be noted that MH seems to be the most common way of speaking among Israeli Arabs and therefore this is not necessarily an indicator to a conscious choice to speak MH as a mean to show loyalty to their group. Nevertheless, the answers may support the theory that MH has *covert prestige* in this group (c.f. 3.5.1.2).

In #27E we see that a high number of the participants disagree to the claim that those who speak AH have higher social status than those who speak MH. It is however interesting that a relatively high number do not think MH is more beautiful than AH (#27J). From these answers it is difficult to say whether MH has covert prestige, or whether it is merely the most normal way for urban Israeli Palestinians to speak. Further it is difficult to say whether AH does or does not enjoy prestige. In the following I look more into this as I present statements from the interviews and informal conversations relevant to prestige.

## 5.2.2 Interviews and informal conversations

### 5.2.2.1 Arabic: *fuṣḥā*

Although, in my view, a personal and highly subjective statement, Amara (1999:98) seems to reflect urban Israeli Palestinians' attitudes towards *fuṣḥā* when he says: "Israeli Arabs are aware of Arabic as a rich, beautiful and prestigious language".

In the interviews I asked whether there are Hebrew words to which there is no equivalent in Arabic. While the answers to #27A show that many of the participants are divided between agreeing and disagreeing to this (c.f. 5.2.1.1), most of the interviewees answer "no, rather the contrary". Statements (11) to (15) show that many of the interviewees describe Arabic as a rich language with a large vocabulary, however it seems that by *Arabic*, many mean *fuṣḥā*. Based on these statements it seems that for many of the interviewees, Hebrew seems to be considered a richer code than *ʿammiyya*, and a poorer code than *fuṣḥā*.

11:B

(I) Are there words in Hebrew, which there is no equivalent to in Arabic? I heard for instance the word *meʿanjen* (Hebrew: interesting).

(B) No, the idea is not that there is no, eh, translation (*tarjame*) or that there is no equivalent to it, but we do not use the equivalent. There is the word *muṭīr*<sup>52</sup> [...] but we are not used to saying it [...] and when I told you that they think I am speaking *fuṣḥā*, because I put in these words, and used them in Arabic (*bil-ʿarabī*) people went, \*ok\* this is not Arabic. I think that there are no words that do not exist in Arabic, for sure there is an equivalent, but we do not use it, we do not know it.

12:A

(I) How is the reaction among people when you use Arab words instead of the more commonly used Hebrew words?

(A) Eh.. Good usually, most like it [...] the words (*kalimāt*) are better (*ʿaḥsan*), I mean not better, but nicer (*ʾaḥla*), I mean I think nicer because [...] Arabic has a lot of words (*muḥradāt*), not like Hebrew which has less words.

(I) But words like *muṭīr al-ihtimām* [word used for interesting instead of the more common Hebrew word *meʿanjen*] is more *fuṣḥā*, no, I mean, it is not from the daily language (*il-luḡa l-yawmiyye*) true?

(A) Yes, exactly, it is not from the daily language.

13:D

The Arabic language (*il-luḡa l-ʿarabiyye*) is beautiful but at the same time difficult (*ṣaʿbe*), the difference between Hebrew and Arabic, is that in Hebrew the language you use is the same language you write, in Arabic the language you speak is not the same as you write.

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<sup>52</sup> Arabic literary: exciting. Often used in the *fuṣḥā* expression: *muṭīr al-ihtimām*: interesting.



14a:C

They exist in Arabic (*bil-‘arabī*) but they are in classical Arabic, so it is very difficult (*ša‘eb*) to say them, so we say them in Hebrew. In *‘ammīyye*, you do not have *kdai* (Hebrew: “worth while/ worth it”) in Arabic, there is *min al-mufaḍḍal* (preferred) or.. so these words are more classical, so we do not use them in *‘ammīyye*, so because of this we put in Hebrew words.

14b:C

(I) How would the reaction be if you spoke to your friends in Arabic without the use of Hebrew words?

They would think that I have lost my mind (*injannēt*). Because they are not used to me speaking complete Arabic (*‘arabī kāmīl*) without one Hebrew word. This is something very strange. So, when I speak only (*bass*) Arabic, first of all I find it difficult and secondly, [...] as I did.. \*wow\* something, you know \*challenge\* that I speak only Arabic, \*there is something wrong\* there is something strange.

From these statements it seems that the urban Israeli Palestinians feel they have to turn to *fuṣḥā* in order to make use of the richness of the Arabic language. Thus, it seems that *fuṣḥā* is considered a beautiful and rich code, and as such has prestige. The use of it though seems to be considered difficult, formal and strange by some and there are thus obstacles in the way for using *fuṣḥā* lexical items. This is true even for those who have proficiency in *fuṣḥā* as B expresses in (11) and as B and E expresses in the following statements.

15: E

If you say all the sentences in Arabic, without any insertion of Hebrew [...] there are words in Arabic which are, I mean, there are not, not always, there is not always an equivalent (*muqābile*) in *‘ammīyye*, so [...] sometimes you use a word in *fuṣḥā* during your speech in *‘ammīyye*, so it appears to be formal, that is to say, as if, \*it seems like formal, ok?\* [...] but because there are several words which are not used in *‘ammīyye* [...] The word psychology [...] nobody says it [in Arabic] most people say *psikologi* [Hebrew: psychology] [...] When I say it in Arabic [...] it appears nice (*ḥilū*) when I say something like this, I said something formal [...] but I did not say anything formal, I translated it literary to Arabic [...] same words.

(I) Same level?

(E) Same level, but in Arabic it seems more serious, more formal [...] that is why we do not use it much.

E (15) and B (11) say that when they use *fuṣḥā* lexical items they experience that their interlocutors perceive the entire speech as *fuṣḥā* or as a more formal style, and that they cannot use it without it creating reactions of the type described by C (14b). Even so, it does not seem to be regarded as negative, on the contrary is the use of it considered nice (*ḥilū*) and something special.

The fact that *fuṣḥā* seems to be considered prestigious by most of the informants, but nevertheless is considered strange or more formal to use by some, support the theories concerning prestige and usage, as it shows that it is not given that a prestigious variety is the most used. It also supports the theories concerning the usage of *fuṣḥā* outside its ‘proper context’ despite it having prestige (c.f. 3.5.1). It seems that *fuṣḥā*’s ‘proper contexts’ are fewer in the case of urban Israeli Palestinians than in the case of other Arab nationalities. I shall revert to this issue in 5.4.3 when I discuss the perception of *fuṣḥā*.

### 5.2.2.2 Hebrew: AH and MH

In the following I will argue that Hebrew, and the two varieties MH and AH are important components in urban Israeli Palestinians’ complex identity (c.f. 2). As A puts it after an informal and cheerful discussion about ‘Jewishness’ and ‘Arabness’ in Israel/Palestine:

“[Even if] I speak Hebrew, I do not hate myself, you know”.

16:B

The problem with Hebrew is the conflict (*ṣirāʿ*) [...] it is not a matter of language. I see that the Jews and we are not living in coexistence (*taʿāyush*) [...] my problem is not with the language, I know how to speak Hebrew very well. My Hebrew is just as strong as my Arabic. And they [the Jews] even think, if I speak with their \*accent\*, I know how to speak it with their \*accent\*, they do not know that I am Arab. But I speak with Arab accent, I do not want to be Jewish [...] The idea is that I do not want my child to go to Jewish school because I feel that one should be ready [...]. They were calling me a dirty Arab, and laughing of me if I spoke with a broken accent.

17:E

Both [languages] are important, mastering Hebrew is something which has helped me to be integrated when it comes to work, people [...] but the \*balance\* is very important [...] Especially Hebrew is important as you have \*to prove yourself\* Most of the colleagues [...] are Jews, and most of the people in the professional life, so you have to master this language, know how to play with it. To be able to use words in contexts which are not right, but in an \*interesting\* way [...] Sometimes I feel you have a privilege to have the eloquence [...] of the Jews, the \*other\*, because you know the language well. \*Total control\*. They do not have any \*superiority\* over you, not even with the language. It is also important for the \*identity\* of the child, that he feels he is able to speak this language without \*any accent\* that is wrong [...] without anyone laughing of the /ʿ/ or the /p/. [...] I use the /ʿ/ and the /h/ [...] \*still\* it is difficult for the Jews I work with to tell if I am Jew or Arab. The most important is not the accent but the mastering of the language.

In order to obtain social recognition among the Jewish Israelis, B and E here claim that they have to know how to speak Hebrew to such a level of proficiency that Jews cannot tell from

their accent that they are Arab<sup>53</sup>. Both B and E emphasize that they are able to speak Hebrew like the Jewish do, to such a level that Jewish Israelis are unable to tell that they are Arab. In this lies not only an illustration of their proficiency in Hebrew, but also, I argue, the wish to point out that if they choose to, they are considered Jewish, by Jews. They regard this as a resource, and in such a situation it seems to me that they see it as something positive to be considered a member of the Jewish Israeli society. As such, I argue that *being able* to speak AH is considered prestigious.

On the other hand, if an urban Israeli Palestinian actually speaks ‘their accent’, it is by some urban Israeli Palestinians interpreted as a wish to be like the Jewish Israelis, which they seem to consider negative and as an act of disloyalty towards the group. As such, MH has a covert prestige, as its use functions as an expression of loyalty to the stigmatized minority group (c.f. 3.5.1.2). The following two examples illustrate this.

During a conversation about the language situation among Arabs in Israel, a man in his 30’s from the Haifa region (a)<sup>54</sup>, referred to Ibn Khaldūn’s saying “*Al-maḡlūb yuṣbiḥu al-ḡālib*”, “The oppressed resembles the oppressor” when he was talking about girls ‘who dress like Jews and talk like Jews’. Informant B told me that once, when she and her husband were in the Jerusalem Old City market, one of the Arab merchants approached her in Hebrew. She asked him in Arabic why he spoke to her in Hebrew, upon which his answer was “You look like a Jew”. After this, she told me, she decided to dress differently, do her hair differently and pronounce the /ʔ/ when speaking Hebrew, “I even say *laʿasōt* (Hebrew: to do) now”<sup>55</sup>. B claims she uses MH to state that she is a member of the Arab minority. In addition to changing her way of speaking, she even started to do her hair different, and dress differently, in order to show that she is an Israeli Palestinian. As such, she uses MH as a device to make her Arab identity salient and to show loyalty to the group (I shall discuss the choice of code in order to index identity in 5.4.2)

In the same manner E (17) indicates that she is not going to ‘change her way of speaking’ in order to get social recognition in the Jewish Israeli society, and as such expresses pride in speaking MH. She uses her name, written with /ʔ/, as an example, and says that she

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<sup>53</sup> This is not special for this group, as proficiency in language and degree of integration often also seems to be estimated based on the eloquence, tone and accent of the majority in a society in addition to correct usage of grammar.

<sup>54</sup> I hereafter refer to this informant as (a)

<sup>55</sup> In AH, /ʔ/ is omitted or pronounced as a glottal stop /ʔ/. The verb *laʿasōt* is pronounced with glottal stop *laʿasōt* although written with ‘ayn (c.f.1.3.2).

pronounces it with /ʔ/ and not with a glottal stop or an omission of the /ʔ/, which is done in AH (c.f. 1.3.2), when she introduces herself.

Both B and E emphasize that they have the choice to speak either AH or MH. The choice to speak MH may be considered a political statement, or a comment to the societal structures because it is an active choice. They are able to speak AH, and can do it when they wish, and they do it just as good as the Jewish, but they choose not to. Due to the fact that MH is the ‘normal’ Arab way to speak Hebrew, I argue that it only becomes a mean to make a political statement for those who are also able to speak AH, but who claim they choose not to, even though it will give them societal advantages. As such, I argue, it has prestige to *be able to* speak AH and thus, when they choose to speak MH, MH gets covert prestige.

When I say that it is considered prestigious to learn AH as long as they do not actually use it, I point to attitudes, and not to actual use. Whether B, E or (a) never speaks AH is impossible for me to tell. The point is that they all express an attitude towards AH which is negative, although both B and E consider it positive to be able to speak it. However, if it is considered positive and prestigious to be able to speak it, I regard it plausible to assume that it is considered prestigious to actually use it in certain contexts as well.

These attitudes towards AH and MH are not shared by all members of the speech community. There are those who do not make a point out of speaking MH, nor do they express negative attitudes towards AH. However, also among these do, what seems to be regarded as typically Arab and Jewish accents, function as a mean to identify and categorize others.

I asked C what language to speak to strangers in the street of Jaffa.

18:C

(C) It depends, if you speak to a Jew you speak Hebrew and if you speak to an Arab you speak Arabic.

(I) But how do you know?

(C) Usually [...] when someone wants to ask, he asks in Hebrew. Then you listen to the tone of his voice. If he speaks with the Arabic letters ( *ʿaḥrūf* ), I mean..

(I) with /ʔ/?

(C) with /ʔ/ or with /R/, so you understand that he is Arab, and you speak with him in Arabic.

(I) But there are many Arabs who speak Hebrew without the pronunciations of these letters, and for me it is sometimes impossible to hear whether they are Arab or Jew.

(C) True, but these are more in the cities than in the village. There the situation is very.. not right. There, in the village, they say, instead of saying /p/ they say /b/. So instead of saying... *parpar*, which means butterfly in Hebrew, they say *barbar*. You

notice that this is *\*beni adam\** (Hebrew: a person/ someone) Arab trying to speak Hebrew, and not the opposite.

(I) And you, do you pronounce the Arab letters, like /ʕ/ when you speak Hebrew?

(C) No, I use it more as *'aleph*<sup>56</sup> than as /ʕ/, it is a habit.

C does not give MH any covert prestige here, but rather she expresses a preference towards AH. She claims that she seldom pronounces /ʕ/, due to habit, indirectly claiming that she does not speak Hebrew the typical Arab way, i.e. MH. She seems to view MH as the variety of the Arabs, particularly from the villages. C here claims that the pronunciation of /ʕ/ and /R/ tells you that someone is Arab. She also emphasizes the relatively common feature among many Arab speakers, namely the inability to distinguish the /p/ from the /b/, and argues that this usually tells a villager from an urban dweller.

E also indicates that it is important to know how to speak without an accent, i.e. without pronouncing /ʕ/ and /ħ/<sup>57</sup>, and to be able to say /p/, and not /b/ (c.f. (17)).

I asked D how I know in which language to speak with strangers.

19:D

In the street you speak Hebrew usually. [...] How do you know if you should speak Arabic? Sometimes it depends on the dialect (*lahje*) if the dialect is a bit heavy (*ta'ile*) [...] the Jews are able to distinguish the dialect, for instance with the letter /p/, the Arabs sometimes pronounce it /b/ not /p/.

Although D speaks about Arabs in general here, by giving this example he shows that he is able to say /p/ and by that he puts himself in the category, although maybe subconsciously, of those who are able to say /p/.

20:E

Most of the time I know [whether she is speaking with a Jew or an Arab when speaking with strangers in the street] [...] when you live in the society and you are a part of it, you become able to distinguish from the way they move, and the way they dress, and if not, as soon as you speak with them. If you speak in Hebrew it shows from the *\*accent\**, of course. It shows from the accent (*laq'ez*).

(I) But can you always hear from the accent? I have trouble, because there are many who does not pronounce the /ʕ/ for example.

(B) Yes, true, [...] but there are small *\*niuansim\**<sup>58</sup> (Hebrew: nuances), and from them you feel it.

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<sup>56</sup> She uses the Hebrew name *'aleph* and not the Arabic name *'alif* here.

<sup>57</sup> She refers to the Arabic letter *hā'* and not the Hebrew letter *het* for the emphatic /ħ/.

<sup>58</sup> *Niuansim* serves as an example of loan word, which is phonologically adapted and morphologically integrated as the Hebrew plural masculine ending *-im* is added.

21:F

There is no /p/ in Arabic, but there is in Hebrew. [...] So you hear sometimes from Arabs when they speak, more among those who live in the villages, not among those who live in Haifa or Jaffa or Ramle, where there is a mix of Jews and Arabs, they [who live in the village] do not have the letter /p/, they pronounce it /b/.

From these statements it seems that the letter /p/ is not only a mean to distinguish Jews from Arabs, but also that the urban Israeli Palestinians see it as a mean to distinguish urban from rural dwellers among Israeli Palestinians. As the informants indicate that they know how to say /p/, they set themselves apart from those Arabs, the villagers who, according to them usually are not able to pronounce the /p/. By this they claim that the rural Israeli Palestinians may be singled out by their accent as Arabs, by foreigners or Jews, but that the urban cannot. I will argue that this strengthens my argument that urban Israeli Palestinians consider it prestigious to be able to speak Hebrew without an Arab accent.

### 5.3 Instrumental and integrative motivation

It seems to be a general agreement among researchers like Amara and Koplewitz that the main motivations for learning Hebrew among Israeli Palestinians are instrumental, based on the argument that Israeli Palestinians have to learn Hebrew in order to function in the society (c.f. 2 and 3.7.2). According to Lambert and Gardner's definition of the two terms instrumental and integrative motivation (c.f. 3.5.2), it seems easy to come to this conclusion. However, I have argued that AH and MH have prestige in certain contexts (c.f. 5.2). Does this indicate that Hebrew is learnt for integrative reasons as well? *Fuṣḥā*, though considered a prestigious code (c.f. 5.2) seems to be somewhat superfluous as a high variety (c.f. 3.4 and 5.1). Are the motivations for learning and using *fuṣḥā* thus only integrative, or are there instrumental reasons for learning and using *fuṣḥā* as well?

#### 5.3.1 Questionnaire

According to the questionnaire answers presented in 5.2.1.1, motivations for learning and using *fuṣḥā* seem to be mainly integrative. *Fuṣḥā* received the highest scores in the questions about social status, most beautiful language and high culture in #28 C, E and F, and very low scores in #28 B and D concerning economic success and which language makes it easier to get a job.

The answers to #28 B and D indicate that proficiency in English is regarded as giving more economic advantages than proficiency in Hebrew (c.f. 5.2.1.1). There may be different

reason for these answers. Proficiency in Hebrew may be taken for granted by many, as I have suggested in 5.2.1.1, or there may be negative attitudes towards Hebrew, which makes some choose English instead. The answers to #28 C and F also show that English is regarded as a stronger indicator to high social status and high culture compared to Hebrew, which in its turn point to the motivations to learn English as being more integrative than the motivations to learn Hebrew. Hebrew, however, together with *‘ammiyya*, is by relatively many reported to be the most used code in interaction with strangers, and the code that most people understand. The motivations for learning and using Hebrew in this context seem thus to be instrumental. These answers indicate that motivations for learning Hebrew are not particularly integrative, and that although English seems to be considered more important than Hebrew in order to get economic advantages, the main motivation for learning Hebrew is instrumental.

### 5.3.2 Interviews and informal conversation

#### 5.3.2.1 Arabic: *fushā* and Hebrew

22:B

Without Hebrew you cannot study or work [...], you are forced to know it, forced [...] I want to know this language. Of course, you have to know it. The first time I heard a bad word in Hebrew I did not understand it, I asked my brother and we had a story at home. [laughing]. The idea is that it is necessary to know Hebrew [...] I do not enjoy it [Hebrew], I do not feel it is beautiful [...] I do not enjoy it like English [...] I understand them and they understand me [...] but I do not feel like there is music in it, no. There are people who say that Hebrew has music and.. no [...] I do not think it has music[...] I do the exams in Hebrew.

Judging from B's statement here, her motivations for learning Hebrew are purely instrumental, according to Lambert and Gardner's definition. They drew the conclusion that integrative motivations lead to more success in learning a second language than do instrumental. Judging by B's attitudes concerning Hebrew (22) or the Israeli Jewish (16), she does not have a 'sincere and personal interest in the people and the culture represented by the other group' (c.f. 3.5.2), but still she claims to be able to speak Hebrew like the Jewish Israelis. If we take this to be true, it thus seems that B has learnt to speak Hebrew with equal proficiency as those who have Hebrew as their native language, driven by instrumental motivations.

Due to the almost total absence of Arabic as the teaching language in higher education in Israel, *fushā* seems only to a small degree to function as the high language for the Arab minority in Israel. After primary and secondary school, Arabs in Israel who get their higher

education in Israel and not in another Arab country like Jordan or on the West Bank, seem to be in little need of *fuṣḥā* when it comes to education or professional life. Further, the urban dwellers in particular seem to a small extent to be exposed to *fuṣḥā*. Data presented and discussed in 5.1 and 5.2 supports this<sup>59</sup>. This is also reflected in D and C's statements below.

23:D

When you finish twelve years of education, and you have not read many books in Arabic [...] for example if you are in twelfth grade [...] all the books will be in Hebrew, all the education will be in Hebrew, the university will be in Hebrew, and afterwards your work will be in Hebrew, so you become in effect apart from (*ti'ād 'an*) the Arabic language. So you will all the time be.. [...] you will try to choose the words [in Arabic], and to work more with yourself and with your language, as it is your mother tongue.

24:C

(I) Which language would you prefer to write the thesis in if it was possible to write it in Arabic?

(C) Hebrew [...] because it is easier for me, the Israeli language is Hebrew, everything is in Hebrew. And because I live in the city, not in the..

(I) Village (*qarye*)

(C) Village, like Arab villages (*zayy l-qura l-'arabiyye*). So Hebrew is more common (*dārij*) than Arabic. True, we speak Arabic at home, but a lot of Hebrew words enter the Arabic (*juwwāt il-'arabī*) [...]. In Arabic there are two languages - there is the general language (*il-luġa l-'ām*) and the classical language (*il-luġa l-klāsikiyye*<sup>60</sup>). And we do not use the classical language. [...] The classical Arabic is only used at school, one only reads it [...] everything daily life is in Hebrew, meaning if you go to the \*bank\* or the post office, or any place everything is in Hebrew. [...] There is no place for the children. There are no \*programs\* on TV in Arabic, so often when the mother speaks with her son half, even 70% Hebrew 30% Arabic.

(I) What are your thoughts about this situation?

(C) Very bad (*sayy'e jiddan*) I look at myself, and there are many of my Jewish friends who speak Arabic (*'arabī*) and they speak Arabic better than me. So it is like this is something.. How do I say this.. On one side it makes me sad, and on another side, it is like there is no Arabic language (*ka inno fīsh luġa 'arabiyye*) So, the Arabic language is... especially in Israel and especially in the cities.

If you speak with someone from the village, among the Arabs it is 90% Arabic (*'arabī*) and 10 % Hebrew. Everything is in Arabic in the villages [...] there it is the opposite.

<sup>59</sup> See statements: (6),(7),(8),(14a) and (15).

<sup>60</sup> Although she speaks of *il-luġa l-klāsikiyye*, I assume she refers to *fuṣḥā*. She does not use the term *fuṣḥā* and speaks of *il-luġa l-'ām* as its opposite, what I assume is *'ammiyya*.



25:D

(I) Why did you choose this type of school? [His children go to an Arab school]

(D) My wife (*ahli*) chose the school, first of all [...] but I too, chose for my children. I want for my son that the upbringing he gets is Arab (*'arabiyye*) that the traditions and education is Arab, and the educational language is Arabic (*'arabiyye*) maintaining the language (*hifāzan 'al-luġa*), because [...] in the world there are many more Arabs than Jews, so there are about ten million who speak Hebrew, [...] and there are 100 million who speak the Arabic language (*il-luġa l-'arabiyye*) in the world, so I prefer that they learn in the Arabic language.

(I) In your opinion how are the two languages important to know for your children?

(D) When it comes to the Arabic language (*il-luġa l-'arabiyye*) it is very important that they study it, but it does not take away the importance of the Hebrew language, Hebrew is the language of the society, so if you want to purchase, Hebrew is fundamental, the clerks speak Hebrew, because the majority here is Jews. The teachings at the university will be in Hebrew [...] if you want to effect \*insurance\* insurance (*ta'mīn waṭant*) [...] it is mandatory to know [...] so it is like Arabic (*il-'arabī*) the same percentage [of importance].

The statements of C (24), D (23) and (25) support the idea that the main motivations for learning and using Hebrew are instrumental, and that the learning and usage of Arabic is mainly linked to integrative factors. D (23) points to Hebrew being the language of instruction, and that one has to know Hebrew in order to function on all levels of Israeli public life. C (24) also points to Hebrew being the Israeli language, and that particularly in the cities Hebrew is the language used 'everywhere'. C draws the picture of *il-luġa l-klāsikiyye* in the cities only being present in the school, but to a much larger extent in the daily life in the villages, thus insinuating that there is no practical necessity to know it in the cities. Nevertheless, she expresses a regret that it is not more present in city life: *ka inno fīsh luġa 'arabiyye*. D (25) indicates that Arabic and the importance for his sons to learn it, is first and foremost linked to the Arab world, history, culture and the Arab identity. I argue that this strengthens Ben Rafael's claim (c.f. 5.2.1), that proficiency in *fushā* is important in the ranking of status for the members in the Israeli Arab society, despite its subordinated position in the Israeli society. Based on this it seems that *fushā* mainly functions as a link connecting Israeli Palestinians to Arab history and culture, and as such the motivations for learning it seems mainly to be integrative.

In my data I found that urban Israeli Palestinians also have practical reasons for studying *fushā*. Due to discrimination towards the Arab minority on the job market, many find themselves looking for work in the Arab sector, and then the need for knowledge of *fushā* arises, and also if they wish to communicate with people from the Palestinian territories or the neighbouring countries they meet linguistic challenges.

B here speaks about how she met problems when needing to explain to the children's parents from the Israeli Arab villages about their child in her work as an occupational therapist.

26:B

If the mother or father come and ask about their son, I want for example to say that he has a problem with concentration or hyperactivity. [...] And all the technical terms (*muṣṭalahāt*). [...] In the beginning it was very difficult because I did not know them, so I said them in Hebrew, and sometimes even in English. \*Like perception or hyperactivity\* [...] So they were not able to understand and I was not able to explain to them. And in the end how could we help the child? I did not know what was going on with the boy, and I did not know how to explain what I wanted to tell him. [...] And many times I see many professionals speaking to them, using special terms, but the people, the family are not able to understand them. And this was very frustrating. [...] It became easier. What does this word mean, and this, word by word [...] there are many [of her colleagues] who think that 'this is what I have learnt, so I will say it like this'.

I ask E how the reactions are if she uses Hebrew when speaking with Arabs from outside Israel.

27:E

Ooooh- I do not use it, I try not to use it, \*very difficult\* [...] I also work in Jerusalem on Saturdays. And.. of course in East Jerusalem [...] At one of the schools, the teachers there know a bit Hebrew, but the other school I go to, most of the teachers are from Ramallah, Beit Zuhur, and they do not speak Hebrew and they do not mix with people who speak Hebrew. So it is very difficult, I try not to speak Hebrew [...] if you put in a lot of Hebrew words, it is a kind of \*superiority\* [...]. Hebrew is first the enemy language to them [...] on the other hand they do not understand when you speak, so there I really try not to use it, but of course they know that there are words that I do not know how to say fast in Arabic [...]. There is one there [...] she studied at the Hebrew University<sup>61</sup>, and the director also knows a bit of Hebrew, so I say to them that if there are words I do not know in Arabic, I say them in Hebrew and you translate to Arabic \*it was the agreement\*. This was between me and them [...] I said \*ok, I'm not perfect\* in Arabic, [...] but I want to speak, I want to try [...]. If I lack a word, I say it in Hebrew and you help me translate it into Arabic. This was [...] \*the only solution\*.

B (26) and E's (27) statements are examples of two individuals who appear to have been motivated to learn special terms and expression in Arabic for practical reasons in order to be understood by their interlocutors. Both explain how they had to work with their Arabic and widen their vocabulary in order to communicate with their audience. Nevertheless, I will argue that the main motivations still are integrative. They wish to speak Arabic without insertions of Hebrew in order to signal that they are a member of their audience's group, Palestinians or Arabs, and not of 'the other' Jewish Israeli. To me this seems to be exactly

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<sup>61</sup> Israeli University in Jerusalem

what Lambert and Gardner defined as integrative motivation, namely ‘a sincere and personal interest in the people and the culture represented by the other group’ (c.f. 3.5.2).

28:C

(I) When you speak with someone from for instance Jordan do you have to change your language?

(C) Of course, I have to change my dialect (*lahjəṭī*) not my language. [...] The Arabic I speak with the Hebrew words they would not understand, so I have to speak only Arabic.

(I) And is this difficult?

(C) Yes, very difficult, I had to think a lot before, but now it is easier.

(I) How is the reaction among people there if you speak Arabic with Hebrew words?

(C) They will not understand. They know that I am Israeli. I’m not from Jordan that is for sure, or Palestinian. They say that I am ‘48 Arab’. So, they know that I am not from Jordan nor Palestine nor any Arab country. [...] So, they ask me to repeat many times and I use English expressions [...]

(I) And what if you speak with someone from the villages or the West Bank?

(C) It is almost the same between the people from Jordan, West Bank or East Jerusalem. But very often I use English expressions for them to understand.

C (28) describes the situation first and foremost with focus on practical issues. She says she also uses English words if English is understood. She does not emphasize any conflict-factors. Rather she says that her Jordanian family and friends know that she is an Israeli Arab, and not Palestinian, and by the way she presents the situation it seems she learns the Arabic words just as much for instrumental reasons as integrative.

### **5.3.2.2 Hebrew: AH and MH**

According to B and E (c.f. 5.2.2.2), it is not enough to know just any kind of Hebrew in order to get the social and economic advantages it gives. To get these advantages according to them one has to know AH or to know Hebrew so well that ‘you are able to play with it’. As such their main motivations for learning AH seem to be instrumental.

Although B claims she does not want to be Jewish, it seems from her statement that she considers it important to obtain social recognition among the Jewish majority, and claims that she has to be able to speak ‘their accent’ in order to achieve this.

29:B

My Hebrew is just as strong as my Arabic. And they [the Jews] even think, if I speak with their \*accent\*, I know how to speak it with their \*accent\*, they do not know that I am Arab, But I speak with my Arab accent, I do not want to be Jewish.

30:E

“Both [languages] are important, mastering Hebrew is something which has helped me to be integrated when it comes to work, people [...] but the *\*balance\** is very important [...]. Especially Hebrew is important as you have *\*to prove yourself\** Most of the colleagues are Jews, and most of the people in the professional life, so you have to master this language, know how to play with it. To be able to use words in contexts which are not right, but in an *\*interesting\** way [...] Sometimes I feel you have a privilege to have the eloquence [...] of the Jews, the *\*other\**, because you know the language well. *\*Total control\**. They do not have any *\*superiority\** over you, not even with the language.

I have argued that being able to speak AH seems by some to be considered prestigious in certain contexts (c.f. 5.2.2.2). If this is so, prestige may be a factor motivating some to learn and speak AH, and this in turn may indicate that the motivations may be integrative.

However, it seems from B and E’s statements that the primary motivation is instrumental.

C reports to be speaking AH out of habit (18), she represents those who have both Jewish and Arab friends, and consequently she is even more exposed to AH than B and E. As AH is the variety of the Jewish majority, it is the most normal way to speak Hebrew in Israel, and as such it would be the natural, unmarked variety to use among Jewish friends. Even B spoke AH, according to herself, before she met the Old Jerusalem merchant (c.f. 5.2.2.2). It may also be C’s conscious choice to speak AH in order to obtain the social and economic advantages it gives in the Israeli society, as well as it may be because AH is the prestigious variety. Most likely is her choice based upon a combination of these factors.

## 5.4 Code-switching

### 5.4.1 Attitudes towards code-switching

#### 5.4.1.1 Questionnaire

In 5.1.1.1 I suggested that the answers from #10 and #12 might tell us that code-switching is not considered merely negative. A relatively high number of participants claim it is considered normal *not* to mix Hebrew with Arabic (#11 and #13) thus there is a difference between self-reported usage and reporting on general language usage among the participants.

Here I wish to point to the possibility that the formulation of question #13 and #12 opens up for misinterpretations. Where the text in the questionnaire says: *fī al-‘amal aw al-dirāsa*, (c.f. appendix A) this may have been understood as: what language do you speak with Arab colleagues at work or location of study, instead of about work or studies. It might have been clearer if it had formulated it *fī al-‘umūr al-‘amal aw al-dirāsa*. The way the questions

now stand in the questionnaire, the focus is on context, and not on topic as is the case in #10 and #11, where it is specified that the questions concerns daily issues (*fī al-'umūr al-yaumiyya*). Thus, the participants answer that they mix more when speaking with Arab friends at work or the location of study, independent of topic, and that they mix less when speaking with Arab friends about daily issues, independent of context. Still, the difference in the answers to #10 and #12 reflects what the interviewees say concerning this issue, namely that they mix more when treating both work/study issues and daily issues, due to them working and studying in a mixed environment, and that they find it more difficult to avoid using Hebrew lexical items when speaking about work or studies compared to daily issues. There is thus a possibility that there would have been more participants answering that they mix Arabic with Hebrew and less participants answering that it is normal not to mix if the questions had asked explicitly about work/ study related issues.

In #27 the participants were asked about their reasons for using Hebrew words and expressions in Arabic (#27B, D, F, I). The answers show that not knowing the Arabic lexical item is the most frequent reported reason, or at least the most accepted of the listed reasons. The participants are divided between agreeing and disagreeing to the claim that speaking Arabic without inserting Hebrew words or expressions is considered more formal and in the claim that the use of Hebrew words and expressions in Arabic is due to habit. The claim that Arabic without Hebrew lexical items is considered strange (#27I) is rejected by a relatively high number of the participants. These answers correspond with what bilinguals according to sociolinguists often claim, namely that they are unable to speak their language without borrowing foreign lexical items (c.f. 3.5.3).

A relatively high number of the participants say that they try to avoid using Hebrew words when speaking Arabic (#27G). This is in line with sociolinguistic theory, which claims that most bilinguals attitudinally consider it preferable not to mix two languages. Many of the participants do not think that the use of English lexical items in Arabic speech points to high culture, while the participants are divided in the claim that the use of English lexical items in Arabic speech is considered strange (#27C and H). The answers to #28B, C, D and F show that the use of English lexical items is regarded as a stronger indicator to high social status and high culture than Hebrew, and that more participants consider proficiency in English to be more important than Hebrew in order to get a job. In addition, English is considered a stronger indicator to economic success than Hebrew (c.f.5.2.1.1). Based on this it seems clear that the attitudes towards English are generally positive, and thus it is the

mixing of the two languages which is valued negatively here. Code-switching is thus altogether not valued positively in the questionnaire, not even between English and Arabic, in spite of English having more prestige compared to Hebrew.

### 5.4.1.2 Interviews

Statements presented in 5.1.2 concerning reported usage and code preference in spoken communication showed that all of the interviewees report to mix the two languages to various degrees. We saw that A (1), D (3) and E (2) try to avoid or lessen the usage of Hebrew lexical items when speaking Arabic. B (35) below speaks of the reactions from others when she speaks Arabic without inserting Hebrew. Even though C (32) below says she thinks the language situation is very bad (*sayy'e jiddan*), she does not say that she is trying to avoid using Hebrew words. F (4) on his side, merely describes the situation, and as such seems to have a pragmatic view on the issue. All of the interviewees' attitudes, except F's, correspond with sociolinguistic observations that attitudes towards code-switching often tend to be negative.

31a:A

I think the situation for the Arabic language is bad (*'āṭel*), not very nice, [...] we have to speak Hebrew in education, work, everywhere, even in any simple event. So the Arab language is becoming very mixed with Hebrew. Many are speaking Arabic and are using a lot of Hebrew words, and this is not a good situation.

31b:A

(A) I used to use more Hebrew words. Now I am using, or I am trying to use only Arabic words.

(I) Do you have to think, to be conscious about your language, in order not to use Hebrew words?

(A) No, little, very seldom.

32a:C

(I) What are your thoughts about the language situation?

(C) Very bad (*sayy'e jiddan*) I look at myself, and there are many of my Jewish friends who speak Arabic and they speak it better than me. So it is like this is something.. How do I say this.. From one side it makes me sad, and on another side, its like there is no Arabic language (*ka inno fīsh luḡa 'arabiyye*) meaning the Arabic language is... especially in Israel and especially in the cities.

32b:C

They [her friends] would think that I have lost my mind (*injannēt*) [if she spoke Arabic without entering Hebrew lexical items]. Because they are not used to me speaking complete Arabic (*'arabī kāmīl*) this is something very strange. So, when I speak only (*bass*) Arabic, first of all I find it difficult and secondly, [...] as I did.. \*wow\* something, you know \*challenge\* that I speak only Arabic, \*there is something wrong\* there is something strange.

A and C report very differently on their use on code-switching, but when it comes to their thoughts about the situation, they agree in that it is bad (*ʾaṭel* and *sayyʿe jiddan*). C's statements serves as an example of attitudes and reported usage which do not correspond, while A's statements are example of attitudes and reported usage which do correspond (c.f. 3.5.3). In 3.5.3, I pointed to how prestige of the codes involved in code-switching, may play an important role in this respect, and based on this the different answers of A and C may reflect their seemingly different attitudes towards Hebrew. C's attitudes towards Hebrew seem in general to be more positive compared to A's, and thus it may be that A reports to speak the way she thinks she ought to, according to her attitudes, while C is torn between negative attitudes towards 'polluting' Arabic, and the desire to borrow Hebrew lexical items in order to display social status.

B (11) and (26) and E (33) emphasize, when reporting on their use of code-switching between Hebrew and Arabic, that they are making an effort to be able to speak Arabic without mixing in Hebrew, but that many of their interlocutors do not give preference to this. Results from the questionnaire show that many do in fact consider the usage of Arabic important, but that according to them, they mix because they are not able to speak 'complete' Arabic. The interviewees, and particularly B, E and C do to various degrees use English lexical items in their Arabic speech. At the same time as B and E are speaking to me in Arabic about the importance of speaking Arabic without inserting Hebrew lexical items, they in fact borrow English lexical items. The reason for this may be that they are not able to speak Arabic without borrowing words from another code, and thus turn to English to fill in the words they do not know or remember in Arabic, in order to avoid using Hebrew in a conversation about code-switching between Arabic and Hebrew. Yet there are also examples of them saying the same thing in both languages as E does in statement (33) and, C in (32)<sup>62</sup>, or using a word in both English and Arabic as E does in (20) and B in (29)<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> This may be what Gumperz calls 'reiteration' (1982:78).

<sup>63</sup> The fact that the English lexical items are said first in all four examples and then repeated in Arabic may be linked to the fact that outside the interview context, English was the most used code between the interviewees and myself. As such they were more used to relate to me in English. This may indeed have influenced their usage of English lexical items during the interviews. However, I do not believe that the words they repeat in Arabic are words they assume I do not know, as they are rather common words in Arabic, and as such I do not believe they say it first in English in order for me to understand.

E:33 \*It is kind of a joke\* *kānat zayy mazḥa* (It was like a joke).

C:32b \*There is something wrong\* *fī iṣi ġarīb* (there is something strange).

E:20 If you speak in Hebrew it shows from the \*accent\*, of course. It shows from the accent (*laḥje*).

B:29 I know how to speak it with their \*accent\*, they do not know that I am Arab, But I speak with my Arab accent (*laḥje*).

This shows that they borrow words they know and remember, and thus the attitudes they have towards code-switching between Hebrew and Arabic does not apply to their actual usage concerning code-switching between English and Arabic.

They may associate English with positive values, and that it is the use of Hebrew they first and foremost wish to avoid, as a reaction to the imbalanced status of the two languages and their peoples in the Israeli society. It may also be that B, C and E use English lexical items, although unconsciously, to signal that they are educated and part of the modern world. As mentioned in 5.2.1.1, Amara argues that even though the general attitudes towards English are positive, Hebrew is the code, which first and foremost is linked to the modern world for Israeli Arabs (c.f. 3.7). It seems from my study that for urban Israeli Arabs, and particularly those with a high proficiency in Hebrew, the code, which first and foremost is associated with the modern world and education, is English. This points in the direction that the conflict between the desire to borrow lexical items from the more prestigious code to display social status, and the condemnation of making their code ‘impure’ exists among speakers in this speech community (c.f.3.5.3). Even though it seems that English is considered by many of the speakers to have more prestige than Hebrew, I have argued that Hebrew has prestige, and thus this may be valid in the case of mixing between Hebrew and Arabic as well.

#### **5.4.2 Reported reasons for code-switching and code choice as intentional**

We have seen that the interviewees’ reported reasons for using Hebrew lexical items vary. Many point to Israel’s language- and educational policy, and that they are living in a mixed environment. Answers to #27D show that many report “they do not know the Arabic equivalent” as a reason, something which is also supported by the interviewees. Another reported reason is that they are surrounded by the Hebrew words and are consequently less exposed to the Arabic equivalents. Most say that they wish they were able to speak Arabic without borrowing from another code but that they are not. Many of the interviewees also claim that the Arabic equivalent is only found in *fuṣḥā*, and thus it is considered strange or



formal, either from their own point of view or from others' point of view if they use these lexical items.

Fishman proposes four different but mutually reinforced factors in his discussion of topic as a choice regulator (c.f. 3.1.1). These may to a certain extent apply to my informants' reported reasons for using Hebrew lexical items. He says that speakers 'acquire the habit' to speak about topic x in X because they are trained to do so, and/ or because they lack the necessary vocabulary in language Y to speak about topic x. Applying this to my informants' case, it would be linked to their reported lack of proficiency in *fushā* to speak about work or study related issues, due to the language of instruction being Hebrew. It may also be linked to their habit of speaking about work or study related issues in Hebrew because they work or study in a mixed environment of Jews and Arabs. Even though they also sometimes use Hebrew lexical items alongside the Arabic equivalent, not knowing the Arabic equivalent seems to be regarded as a valid reason among my informants for why they use Hebrew lexical items when speaking Arabic.

Another factor Fishman proposes is that language Y lacks the necessary vocabulary to treat topic x in a satisfying manner. Applied to my informants' case, it would be what they regard as lack of vocabulary in *'ammiyya* to treat work or study related issues, although some of my informants seem to think that *'ammiyya* lacks satisfying vocabulary to speak of daily issues as well (c.f. 5.4.3). Fishman suggests another factor that explains why speakers acquire the habit to treat topic x in language X, namely that it is considered strange or inappropriate to discuss topic x in language Y. This may be applied to many of the interviewees' experience of the usage of *fushā* lexical items as more formal or strange, compared to the more common Hebrew equivalents. My informants' reported reasons for using Hebrew lexical items correspond to a certain degree with Fishman's factors presented here (c.f. 3.1.1), although Fishman's macroscopic focus may be more suitable to present and analyse material from larger segments of data than the amount of data this thesis relies on (Fishman in Li Wei 2007: 70). Fishman seems however to take it for granted in his presentation of these factors that speakers always make the unmarked choice, as opposed to Gumperz and Myers-Scotton's models, where the code choices are intentional (c.f. 3.1.3). We have seen that my informants' choices of code also are intentional and that they do not always make the unmarked choices, even though they often seem to blame the macrostructure for their choices.

33:E

When I gave lectures, I wanted to write on the \*powerpoint\* and such, the exercises, \*to present it\*, the problem was that I felt that \*oh my God\* I know how to write it in Hebrew, but I do not know how to write the special terms in Arabic [...] the audience was Arabs, and \*still\* this audience also had a problem with language, this audience was not from East Jerusalem where they did not have a problem with language, but there I had it. No, here everybody had a problem with language [...]. They were from Haifa or the area around Haifa. And it is not something which seems very strange, but for me it was something strange \*come on\* the lecture is in Arabic, the audience are Arabs [...] so the first time, I tried [...] but I wrote the transparencies in Hebrew, but I said this is the last time [...] I said: I did them [the transparencies] in Hebrew, I preferred to do it all in Arabic but it was a bit difficult [...] \*it is kind of a joke\* it was like a joke, and they were laughing and saying it is normal, normal.

E's statements (27) and (33), are, I will argue, examples of intentional code choices. E gives lectures in two different contexts to two different audiences. One is in East Jerusalem to an audience from East Jerusalem and the West Bank and the other is in Haifa to an audience from the Haifa district. I assume the topics are in the same category, as she gives lectures by virtue of being a psychologist. In both contexts she makes it clear that her aim is to speak Arabic without Hebrew insertions. Based on her statements, I assume that the unmarked code choice in a lecture about psychology in East Jerusalem would be a mix of *ʿammīyya* and *fuṣḥā* maybe with insertions of special terms in English or another foreign language (c.f. 3.7.3). The use of Hebrew is according to E, considered negative in East Jerusalem, being the 'enemy language', but also because the audience in East Jerusalem does not understand Hebrew. Thus it seems like her motivations for avoiding Hebrew in East Jerusalem are partially practical, she wants her audience to understand her, and partially because the usage of Hebrew would be a marked code choice linking her to the 'enemy'. Although she does indeed use Hebrew lexical items in this context, she makes it clear to her audience that this is not a desired code choice, and that she really is making an effort to avoid it (I said \*ok, I'm not perfect\* in Arabic, [...] but I want to speak, I want to try), and she seems to indicate that she is not to blame but rather that the socio-political situation in Israel is, and thus she is communicating her loyalty to the Palestinians.

In Haifa on the other hand, the usage of Hebrew lexical items in a lecture given in Arabic is considered normal. Although *fuṣḥā* seems attitudinally to be considered positive, the actual usage of *fuṣḥā* lexical items is, according to E, not understood to the same extent as Hebrew by many in the audience. It thus seems from this, that E primarily bases her code choice in Haifa on her attitudes and not on practical circumstances, and her choice to avoid Hebrew lexical items in Haifa may be considered a marked choice. By emphasizing that she

aims at speaking ‘complete’ Arabic in Haifa, she is indicating that they as Arabs, including herself, should be able to speak Arabic without the use of Hebrew lexical items, and by doing this she indexes their Arab/Palestinian identity. Her language choice in Haifa may also be understood as a comment to the ongoing political debates concerning language politics in the country. I argue that her aim to speak only Arabic is an intentional code choice in both contexts, and that she with this choice wishes to index her Palestinian and/or Arab identity. While in East Jerusalem it is an unmarked choice, it is a marked choice and even a political statement in Haifa.

E also explicitly says that the choice to speak Arabic without the usage of Hebrew lexical items is an active choice, and that it is a mean to convey a political message (34). Together with the example presented above, B’s statement (35) may also support this idea. B seems to make a conscious choice to speak Arabic without the use of Hebrew lexical items, and as such she wishes to emphasize that it is important to her that she, as an Arab, speaks only Arabic. Her experience from using the words and expressions in Arabic where Hebrew words are usually used, is viewed as abnormal by some, and, it seems, a marked way of speaking.

34:E

Yes not natural, that is, it is clear that when you speak like this, you worked with yourself. And that you do it intentionally [...] that you speak in Arabic because you want to speak in Arabic, it is important to you, [...] or that it is important to you not to speak in Hebrew, it also has a type of eh... message..ehh \*political message\* [...] when you speak like this.

35:B

(I) You also told me that during a meeting at work you spoke only Arabic, and there was one there asking you; why are you speaking *fushā*?

(B) Right, because [...] we are not using Arabic, *fushā* [...] only ‘*āmmiyye*’ - so when [...] you are speaking correc.. (*maṣbū*..) [She interrupts herself in the middle of the word] Arabic, you know, [when you are speaking Arabic] all the time, you are using a lot of words (*kalimāt*), which are correct language-wise, but people hear *fushā*, so he laughed, and asked why I was speaking *fushā*.

C offers yet another example of how language is used to index elements of one’s identity. During an interview, C said that many Arabs sometimes speak Hebrew for various reasons. I asked her about it on a later occasion, and she gave me the following example. If an Israeli Arab girl is taking a taxi by herself, and the taxi driver is Arab as well, she may choose to speak Hebrew in order not to give the driver the chance to ask her more private questions

and to judge her from the Arab norms of women's behaviour, which, according to C, some may think is within their right to do. Therefore she speaks Hebrew in order to create a distance between herself and the driver, in order to protect herself, from what C referred to as 'bad Arabs'. C's example resembles Yasir Suleiman's stories of his linguistic choices from the Israeli checkpoints (c.f. 3.1.2). They are both examples of how the speaker uses language in order to create a barrier between his or herself and the interlocutor. In this way language is used to steer the way others behave towards you.

In her discussion of unmarked code-switching, Myers-Scotton presents an example of a conversation between two strangers who does not know the identity of one another. They start in the regional lingua franca but as soon as it becomes known that they share ethnic identity, they switch to their shared ethnic code, and this switch is according to Myers-Scotton unmarked, as the RO set has changed from 'strangers' to in-group ethnic (c.f. 3.3.1.). Now hypothetically, if our Arab woman in the taxi speaks AH, and the taxi driver cannot single her out as an Arab, her choice is unmarked. He believes she is Jewish, and behaves accordingly. If he should however recognize her as being an Arab, for instance through her way of speaking, the situation is a new one in which the RO set has changed, to use Myers-Scotton's terminology, and the taxi driver will consider her code choice as marked.

B's story from Jerusalem's Old City is yet another example of the use of codes in order to make salient elements of one's identity. Given that the merchant thought that she was Jewish, he chose the unmarked code in this context, namely Hebrew, though he soon discovered through her reaction that it was a marked choice. B's reaction to this was that she according to her, started to speak MH in order to emphasize her Arab identity (c.f. 5.2.2.2).

In E's statement below she describes how she feels that her uncles consider the usage of Hebrew lexical items as a marked choice when she visits them in East Jerusalem while unmarked, or more legitimate when they visit her in Israel.

36:E

Also, I have two uncles on the mothers' side (*xwāl*) who live in Jerusalem. They know of course Hebrew and their origin is Ramle<sup>64</sup>, but \*still\* I feel that they prefer you do not speak Hebrew because you are there, here it's more *legitimi*, (Hebrew: legitimate) to speak with them in Hebrew, but there..

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<sup>64</sup> One of Israel's mixed cities

These examples show that urban Israeli Palestinians make intentional code choices based on what they wish for the interaction, and this is in line with Gumperz and Myers-Scotton's theories. It nevertheless seems quite clear that the lack of proficiency in *fuṣḥā* as a consequence of the Israeli language and education policy and the societal structures in general is a de facto reason for why many urban Israeli Palestinians insert Hebrew lexical items into their Arabic speech. Despite this, I will argue that attitudes play a part also in this matter.

### 5.4.3 Perceptions of *fuṣḥā*.

As already noted, many of the informants report to insert Hebrew lexical items when they speak Arabic due to them not knowing the Arabic equivalent and that the Arabic equivalent is often only found in *fuṣḥā*. The interviewees say it is considered difficult, formal and strange to use *fuṣḥā*, but nevertheless nice and positive (c.f. 5.2.2.1). In 3.4.1 I discussed the difference between narrow diglossia and a diglossic continuum, and argued that attitudinally the idea of a rigid complementary distribution between *fuṣḥā* and *ʿammiyya* seems to endure among Arabic speakers in spite of the fact that there exists an Arabic diglossic continuum. Among urban Israeli Palestinians as well, the attitudes towards *fuṣḥā* seem to be that it is a 'pure superposed code'. This is reflected in B's statement (35) above, and in F's statement (37) and in E's statement below (38). This indicates that the speakers' reported low proficiency in *fuṣḥā* is not only a consequence of Israel's macrostructure and the fact that they live in a mixed society, but that it is also influenced by the speakers' perception of *fuṣḥā* as an inaccessible code for them to use.

37:F

If you speak only (*bass*) Arabic [without entering words from other languages] you speak *fuṣḥā* (*il-ʿarabī l-fuṣḥā*), and to speak *fuṣḥā*, you have to be good in/ master (*tijīdī*) *fuṣḥā* (*il-luġa l-ʿarabiyye l-fuṣḥā*) [...] so in order to speak Arabic without inserting another language, you have to know *fuṣḥā* well. This also depends on how much you use *fuṣḥā*, if you do not use it you forget the words, you forget the language, and it is the same with all languages, if you do not use it daily, you forget it.

38:E

(I) Are there, in your opinion Hebrew words or expressions, which does not exist with the same meaning in Arabic?

(E) No, on the contrary, all Hebrew words exist in Arabic. The problem is [...] there is no word in *ʿammiyye*. For sure there is a word in *fuṣḥā*, the problem is that we are not \*exposed\* to these words. We do not always know these words, because we do not use them, and even if you use them it seems strange, \*wow\*, and not everybody understands you. For instance [...] the word *aʿadken otach* (Hebrew: I will update

you) it is *ḥatlan*<sup>65</sup> [in Arabic], only the last year or two have I known this word. [...] First of all my friends are used to speaking some Hebrew and some Arabic, so the word *ḥatlana*<sup>66</sup> it is like it is a *fuṣḥā* word. Usually we do not use it in *‘āmmiyye*, [...] so if I say [...] for example if I speak with someone at work [...] OK, *baba’a*<sup>67</sup> *aḥatlanak šū illi bi-ṣṭr matalan bil-liqā’ at-tānī aw l-liqā’ at-tānī* (I will update you about what is going on in the next meeting). So, it is clear that if I say this, it is clear that *aḥatlanak* is a word, which is heavier (*‘at’al*) I can (*ba’dar*) say *baba’a a‘adken otach šū bi-ṣṭr* (I will update you about what is going on) for example, it is easier like this. [...] So, all words in Hebrew exist with the same meaning in Arabic. Maybe the opposite, the \*vocabulary\* in Arabic [...] is very wide, so maybe there are words in Arabic that you do not find the equivalent to in Hebrew, but again it is *fuṣḥā*.

(I) What about the Hebrew word *me’anjen* (Hebrew: interesting)?

(E) *me’anjen - muṭṭr al-ihtimām*

In this respect it is also interesting that E, when giving me an example of the use of an Arabic word for update, *ḥatlana*, adds other *fuṣḥā* words as *al-liqā’ at-tānī*<sup>68</sup> pronouncing the /t/. As if by using *ḥatlana*, she has to adjust her speech accordingly by adding more *fuṣḥā* components. She seems however to become aware of it instantly and tones it down by repeating the word *tānī*, pronouncing the /t/ as /t/ as in *‘āmmiyya (aw al- liqā’ at-tānī)*.

E claims that others consider it more formal and strange, but nice (*ḥilū*) when she speaks Arabic without the usage of Hebrew lexical items. It may be though that she, as she does here, adjusts her way of speaking when she is using the less common Arabic equivalents, using more *fuṣḥā* components. If this is so, by making an effort to avoid using Hebrew lexical items, she adjusts her way of speaking closer to *fuṣḥā* all together.

In this case it might be that her interlocutors hear a more formal speech when she speaks Arabic without the usage of Hebrew lexical items because it is a speech with more *fuṣḥā* components.

On the other hand, it may also be that she does this only in this particular situation in order to emphasize her point to me, namely that the use of *ḥatlana* makes the language ‘heavier’. When she uses the Hebrew word, however, her style seems lighter and more casual, as she omits the *fuṣḥā* lexical items as *al-liqā’ at-tānī* altogether.

<sup>65</sup> She pronounces it without the *fuṣḥā* a- ending and as such she treats it as a *‘āmmiyya* verb here.

<sup>66</sup> Here she pronounces it with the *fuṣḥā* a- ending, treating it as a *fuṣḥā* verb.

<sup>67</sup> The verb *ba’a* (*yib’a*) is also used as *kān*, i.e. ‘to be’ in addition to ‘to stay’ or ‘to remain’, according to Elihay (74) it is a more rural usage of the verb, it seems though that it is in this meaning E is using it here.

<sup>68</sup> As *liqā’* is a loan word from *fuṣḥā*, the /q/ is never pronounced as /ʔ/ (c.f.1.3.1)

According to my informants, it is not only special terms that is more commonly expressed in Hebrew, but also words and expressions from daily speech as *kdai* instead of *min al-mufaḍḍal* (14), and *me 'anjen* instead of *muṭīr al-ihtimām* (11). It seems that some urban Israeli Arabs feel that they cannot find an equivalent to these words in 'āmmiyya, only in *fuṣḥā*. Whether there are equivalents in 'āmmiyya, is not relevant here, the point is that they do not find a satisfying alternative and hence they borrow from Hebrew. Parkinson discovered that the factors defining speech as *fuṣḥā*, vary from one individual to another and is based on a range of factors from grammatical, lexical to topical and formality of style (c.f. 3.4.1). This phenomenon seems to be reflected in B and E's statement ((11), (35) and (15)). B and E describe how their interlocutors hear *fuṣḥā* or a more 'formal' and 'nicer' way of speaking when they speak Arabic without the insertion of Hebrew. C and F ((14a), (24) and (37)) claim that in order to speak Arabic without inserting foreign lexical items you have to speak *fuṣḥā*.

#### 5.4.4 Borrowing

Researchers in the field argue that Israeli Arabs do code-switch, although as far as I know, they label the material they present in their research, borrowing (c.f. 3.7). This thesis does not have as its goal to define the use of Hebrew lexical items occurring in Arabic speech among urban Israeli Palestinians as borrowing or code-switching. Firstly because this demands samples of natural speech, and secondly because the views on what the term 'code-switching' include, vary, therefore this demands a more thorough discussion of the terms, which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

I do, nevertheless, find it interesting to look at some of the words my informants reported as being borrowed from Hebrew into Arabic, in light of Amara and Koplewitz conclusions on the matter (c.f. 3.7.1) and in light of the definitions of borrowing presented in 3.2.1.

B (26) and E (33) describe a feeling of lacking proficiency in the Arabic language in job contexts, particularly concerning special terms. Examples from (11) and (14) show that also words used in daily speech are borrowed from Hebrew because they cannot find a satisfying equivalent in 'āmmiyya. This type of borrowing is in line with the definition of cultural borrowing (c.f. 3.2.1).

E's example (38) with the use of the Hebrew word for update *le 'adken* instead of the Arabic word *ḥatlana* may in fact be an example of how Hebrew, and not English functions as the source for new words and expressions in Arabic in Israel, as Amara argues (3.7). From the

structure of the two words for update, it seems plausible to assume that *le 'adken* is made from the two Hebrew morphemes *'ad kan* (Hebrew: to here), with the infinitive marker lamed (ל) prefixed, and that *ḥatlana* is made from the Arabic morphemes *ḥatta l'ān* (Arabic: until now). *Ḥatlana* is made on the Arabic four-root form *fa 'lala* and has as such the typical form of an Arabic loan word. Upon asking various people from Cairo about Arabic words for update, they all suggested *taḥdīs* or *tagdīd*<sup>69</sup> and they said that they had not heard of *ḥatlana*. Based on this and on the fact that the literal significance of the morphemes that the Arabic and the Hebrew words consist of are relatively close, there is a possibility that the Arabic word for update, *ḥatlana* has been derived from the Hebrew word *le 'adken*, and that it is a calque of the Hebrew word.

The following examples may further support the idea that Hebrew functions as the source for new words and expressions in Arabic in Israel.

The first example takes place in a library where school children can come and do their homework after school. At the time I was working in the library as a volunteer. Two girls, both between nine and eleven years of age are working on translating words from Arabic to Hebrew, and one of them (b) asks me:

(b)<sup>70</sup> *šū ya 'ni mikledet bil- 'ubrāni*<sup>71</sup>? (What does ***mikledet*** (Hebrew: key board) mean in Hebrew?)

(I) ***mikledet*** *kilme 'ibriyye, bil- 'arabī, ya 'nī?* (***mikledet*** is a Hebrew word, in Arabic you mean?)

(b) *lā, bil- 'ubrāni, ihna min 'ul mikledet bil- 'arabī.* (No, in Hebrew, we say ***mikledet*** in Arabic.)

In the second example, also from the library, an Arab woman from the library staff asks me if the computer is turned on. She speaks first in English then switches to Arabic in the middle of the sentence.

Is the computer.. *il-machshev maftūḥ*? (Is the computer on?)

It is interesting that when speaking Arabic she is not using the normal English loanword *al-kombyūtar*, but the Hebrew word *machshev* even though she used the English version of it just a second earlier.

<sup>69</sup> In Egyptian *'ammiyya*, the *jīm* is pronounced as *gīm*.

<sup>70</sup> Hebrew is in bold italics, Arabic in italics and English in normal. My translation into English is placed in parenthesis.

<sup>71</sup> *'Ubrāni* is the way to say 'Hebrew' in *'ammiyya*, I used this in the interviews in the beginning, but was soon told by several of my informants that the 'correct' way, i.e. in *fuṣḥā* is *'ibrī*.



Later an Arab man from the library staff comes to help me turn on the computer and asks:

*Ma yištagilš l-machshev?* (Doesn't the computer work?)

It seems clear that the Hebrew word for computer is the normal loan word, and not the Arabic word *kombyūtar*, borrowed from English.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore to what degree urban Israeli Palestinians' socio-political situation is reflected in their attitudes towards, and reported usage of the codes in their linguistic repertoire, and further how the Arabic diglossic language situation influences their language attitudes and usage. In order to find answers to this, I explored five factors relevant to language attitudes and usage (c.f. 3.8), which I will comment on in the following:

### ○ *Prestige*

Do the mentioned codes have prestige? If so, what kind, and how does this stand in relation with the reported usage?

*Fuṣḥā* enjoys high prestige among urban Israeli Palestinians, being the link to their Arab and/or Palestinian identity, culture and history, and is generally looked upon as a rich and beautiful language with a wide vocabulary. It is clear that proficiency in this code is evaluated positively among the informants, but at the same time they report that the choice to actually speak *fuṣḥā* or to borrow *fuṣḥā* lexical items into the *‘āmmiyya* speech often is considered improper and marked. This also applies to contexts where this would be the normal code choice in most Arab countries, such as when lecturing. My informants blame this to a large degree on the Israeli macrostructure, and it seems indeed to be plausible to ascribe their relatively rare usage of *fuṣḥā* or *fuṣḥā* lexical items to *fuṣḥā*'s subordinated role in Israel and the fact that they are little exposed to it in the cities. I will however argue that also the informants' perception of *fuṣḥā* as a 'pure and superposed' code which stands in a dichotomous relationship to *‘āmmiyya*, implies that *fuṣḥā* is considered a marked choice in certain contexts. Another important point in this respect is that the choice to speak *fuṣḥā*, or to insert *fuṣḥā* lexical items instead of the common Hebrew lexical items, seems often to be considered as a comment to the Arab minority's discriminated status, and to the ongoing language debates linked to this, and thus the use of it is often interpreted as a political message. Together, these factors work to minimize the number of contexts where the use of *fuṣḥā* or *fuṣḥā* lexical items is considered an unmarked choice among urban Israeli Palestinians.

By focusing on AH and MH I found that Hebrew indeed does have prestige in certain contexts. *Being able to speak* AH is considered prestigious, and thus the actual usage of AH must also be considered prestigious in certain contexts. By some Israeli Palestinians the actual usage of AH is considered an act of disloyalty to the group, and as such MH has covert prestige symbolizing loyalty to and pride in belonging to the stigmatized Arab minority. It is

however important to emphasize that MH is the common Hebrew accent among Israeli Arabs, and as such the act of speaking MH does not symbolize loyalty to the group in itself, however in some contexts it obtains covert prestige. Concerning English it has a clear prestige among urban Israeli Palestinians, and their attitudes and actual usage of it points in the direction that in certain contexts it functions as a more ‘neutral’ alternative to Hebrew, as for instance if the speaker wishes to avoid the Hebrew lexical item, and does not find the Arabic equivalent.

○ *Integrative and instrumental motivation*

How do they report on their motivations for learning and using the mentioned codes? Is this distinction a useful one?

I have argued that the main motivation for learning *fuṣḥā* is integrative, partly as a consequence of *fuṣḥā* being almost superfluous as a high variety within this speech community. Even in cases where my informants need to know *fuṣḥā* lexical items in order to communicate with their interlocutors, their motivations seem mainly to be based on their personal and sincere interest in the Palestinian and Arab culture and society.

Although Hebrew is the preferred language in the written domain, my informants do not express explicit positive attitudes towards it. They prefer Hebrew because they find it easier due to the Israeli language and education policy, due to habit, and due to them living in a mixed environment. I argue that the speakers’ preference towards Hebrew is also in this respect linked to their perception of *fuṣḥā*, which they consider as being difficult, and therefore preferring Hebrew.

Urban Israeli Palestinians’ motivations for learning and using Hebrew are mainly instrumental. Even so, my material supports the sociolinguistic claim that it is a challenge to apply the two terms, integrative and instrumental, to actual circumstances. Informant C claims she speaks AH out of habit, and I have argued that her motivation may be both integrative and instrumental. Whatever her motivations are, they are subjective. However (a), B and the Old Jerusalem merchant (c.f. 5.2.2.2) may regard her usage of AH as a wish to resemble the Jewish, and as a sincere and personal interest in the Jewish Israeli society and culture, and thus ascribe her usage of AH to integrative motivations.

In spite of this, my conclusion is that the motivations to learning and using Hebrew, and particularly AH are generally instrumental, as it gives social and economic advantages in the Israeli society.

- *Attitudes towards code-switching*

Are their attitudes towards code-switching positive or negative?

It is clear that the attitudes towards code-switching are generally negative among urban Israeli Palestinians, something which corresponds with general sociolinguistic observations. Even so, we have seen that for many this does not mean that they necessarily avoid switching, something which also seem to correspond with sociolinguistic observations.

- *Correspondence between language attitudes and reported usage.*

Do the attitudes towards the various codes correspond with the speakers' reported language usage?

The speakers' attitudes towards code-switching, as well as towards Hebrew and Arabic and their varieties, and their reported language usage do for the most not correspond, and it seems that many of my informants are torn between the wish to borrow lexical items from a more prestigious code, be it Hebrew or English, in order to display social status on the one hand and the wish of not polluting their native language on the other.

- *The speakers' reported reasons for their choices of code.*

What do the speakers report as their reasons for using the various codes and what are the reported reasons for avoiding them?

The informants tend to a high degree to blame Israeli macrostructure for their usage of Hebrew lexical items in their Arabic speech, and for the fact that they do not know the Arabic lexical items. Even so, their reported reasons for avoiding or using a code is very often, conscious or unconscious, based on what they wish for the particular interaction, and made in order to index particular elements of their identities. The speakers' reported intentional usage of the various codes: *fushā*, AH and MH in particular, and their reasons for using them or avoiding them are influenced by factors in the socio-political situation and Arabic diglossia.

The findings in this thesis indicates that the usage of Hebrew lexical items in Arabic speech among urban Israeli Palestinians is, in many contexts, the unmarked choice, and that the speakers do indeed make intentional code choices based on their conscious or unconscious assessment of the consequences or reactions he or she expects the particular code choice to give in a particular context. A more systematic study of actual usage based on my observations could show that Myers-Scotton's markedness model may be successfully applied on samples of actual speech from this speech community.

My findings also support Ben Rafael's ideas concerning the existence of a specific Israeli Arab cultural identity. In this thesis this specific Israeli Arab/Palestinian cultural identity is

reflected through their language attitudes and through their reported intentional code choices which they make in order to display different elements of their identities, Israeli or Palestinian/Arab, depending on the context.

In my view, this study clearly shows that the complex socio-political situation of the urban Israeli Palestinians as well as the Arabic diglossic language situation has a clear impact on their language attitudes and reported usage.

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## Appendix A

### استمارة استخدام اللغة

عزيزي القارئ ,  
هدف هذا البحث العلمي هو التعرف على استخدام اللغة عند الاقلية العربية في اسرائيل. تتعلق الأسئلة التالية بعاداتك في استخدام اللغات العربية والعبرية والانكليزية ومواقفك منها. ونوع الدراسة هو استكمال لمتطلبات الماجستير في مادة اللغة العربية والمؤسسة العلمية هي جامعة أسلو، النرويج. ارجو منك، عزيزي القارئ، مساعدتي في هذا البحث ورأيك مساند لي ولكن عليك تحري الصدق فالاسم مغمور. أشكرك على المساعدة.

(1) العمر: \_\_\_\_\_

(2) الجنس ( ) ذكر ( ) أنثي

(3) من أية مدينة أو قرية أنت؟ \_\_\_\_\_

(4) الديانة: \_\_\_\_\_

(5) ما هي اللغة أو اللغات التي تستعملها في البيت؟ \_\_\_\_\_

(6) أي نوع من المدارس الابتدائية التالية درست بها؟:

- ( ) مدرسة عربية حكومية.
- ( ) مدرسة عربية خاصة.
- ( ) مدرسة يهودية حكومية.
- ( ) مدرسة يهودية خاصة.
- ( ) مدرسة اجنبية خاصة.

(7) أي نوع من المدارس الثانوية التالية درست بها؟:

- ( ) مدرسة عربية حكومية.
- ( ) مدرسة عربية خاصة.
- ( ) مدرسة يهودية حكومية.
- ( ) مدرسة يهودية خاصة.
- ( ) مدرسة اجنبية خاصة.

(8) هل تدرس أو درست بجامعة أو معهد عال في إسرائيل ؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا

(9) هل تعمل ؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا

- إذا كان جوابك بنعم، أي من المجالات التالية تعمل فيها؟

- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| ( ) التعليم.        | ( ) الحرفة اليدوية. |
| ( ) أعمال المكتبية. | ( ) الصناعة.        |
| ( ) الخدمة.         | ( ) الزراعة.        |

(9ب) ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها في العمل؟  
(قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- |                      |                                  |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| ( ) العبري.          | ( ) الخليط من العربي والعبري.    |
| ( ) الانكليزي.       | ( ) الخليط من العامية والفصحى.   |
| ( ) العربي، العامية. | ( ) الخليط من العربي والانكليزي. |
| ( ) العربي، الفصحى.  | لغة أخرى: _____                  |

(10) ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها عندما تتحدث مع أصدقائك العرب في الأمور اليومية ؟  
(قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- |                      |                                  |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| ( ) العبري.          | ( ) الخليط من العربي والعبري.    |
| ( ) الانكليزي.       | ( ) الخليط من العربي والانكليزي. |
| ( ) العربي، العامية. | لغة أخرى: _____                  |

(11) إذا تكلمت العربي بدون استعمال الكلمات العبرية عندما تتحدث مع أصدقائك العرب في الأمور اليومية:

( ) يعتبر غريبا.	( ) يعتبر أكثر رسميا.
( ) يعتبر عاديا.	( ) يعتبر ايجابيا.
	غيره: _____

(12) ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها عندما تتحدث مع أصدقائك العرب في العمل أو الدراسة ؟  
(قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- |                      |                                  |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| ( ) العبري.          | ( ) الخليط من العربي والعبري.    |
| ( ) الانكليزي.       | ( ) الخليط من العامية والفصحى.   |
| ( ) العربي، العامية. | ( ) الخليط من العربي والانكليزي. |
| ( ) العربي، الفصحى.  | لغة أخرى: _____                  |

(13) إذا تكلمت العربي بدون استعمال الكلمات العبرية عندما تتحدث مع أصدقائك العرب في العمل أو الدراسة:

( ) يعتبر غريبا.	( ) يعتبر أكثر رسميا.
( ) يعتبر عاديا.	( ) يعتبر ايجابيا.
	غيره: _____

(14أ) إذا مشيت في شوارع حيفا أو يافا وسألت ناس لا تعرفهم عن الاتجاهات, فما هي اللغة التي تتكلم بها؟  
( قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- ( ) العبري.  
( ) الانكليزي.  
( ) العربي, العامية.  
( ) الخليط من العربي والعبري.  
لغة أخرى: \_\_\_\_\_

(14ب) لماذا كنت ستتكلم بهذه اللغة مع ناس لا تعرفهم في حيفا أو يافا ؟  
( قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- ( ) هي أسهل اللغات بالنسبة لي أتكلّمها في هذا ( ) حتى يفهم الجميع.  
الوضع. ( ) استعمال هذه اللغة دلالة على الهوية.  
( ) تعتبر أية لغة أخرى غريبة في هذا الوضع. ( ) استعمالها من المهم كي لا تختفي عن الحياة العامة.  
( ) هي الأكثر استعمالا في هذا الوضع. سبب آخر: \_\_\_\_\_

(15) ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها عندما تكتب رسالة شخصية لشخص عربي ؟  
( قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- ( ) العبري.  
( ) الانكليزي.  
( ) العربي, العامية.  
( ) العربي, الفصحى.  
( ) الخليط من العربي والعبري.  
( ) الخليط من العربي والانكليزي.  
لغة أخرى: \_\_\_\_\_

(16) ما هي لغة الجريدة اليومية التي تقرأها عادة؟ \_\_\_\_\_

(17أ) ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها في الرسالة الالكترونية "e-mail" أو الدردشة "chat" أو "sms" لشخص عربي ؟  
( قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحا.)

- ( ) العبري.  
( ) الانكليزي.  
( ) العربي, العامية.  
( ) العربي, الفصحى.  
( ) الخليط من العامية والفصحى.  
( ) العربي بالحروف اللاتينية.  
( ) الانكليزي بالحروف العربية.  
( ) الخليط من العربي والعبري.  
غيره: \_\_\_\_\_

(17ب) لماذا تستعمل هذه اللغة في الرسالة الالكترونية "e-mail" أو الدردشة "chat" أو "sms" لشخص عربي؟  
(قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحاً).

- ( ) هي أسهل اللغات بالنسبة لي استعمالها في هذا الوضع.  
( ) استعمال هذه اللغة دلالة على الهوية العامة.  
( ) تعتبر أية لغة أخرى غريبة في هذا الوضع.  
( ) لا توجد في جهازى الحروف العربية.  
( ) علي أن استعملها لتحسين معرفتي لها.  
( ) حتى يفهم الجميع.  
( ) الأكثر استعمالاً في هذا الوضع.  
( ) سبب آخر: \_\_\_\_\_

(18) ما هي اللغة التي تفضلها لفلم المبلج؟

- ( ) العبري.  
( ) الانكليزي.  
( ) العربي, العامية.  
( ) لغة أخرى: \_\_\_\_\_

(19) ما هي اللغة التي تفضلها لترجمة الفلم؟

- ( ) العبري.  
( ) الانكليزي.  
( ) العربي, الفصحى.  
( ) لغة أخرى: \_\_\_\_\_

(20أ) هل عندك أولاد؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا

- إذا كان جوابك بنعم, أي نوع من المدارس الأتية يدرسون أو درسوا بها؟

- إذا كان جوابك بلا, أي نوع من المدارس الأتية كنت ستختار إذا كان عندك أولاد؟

- ( ) مدرسة عربية حكومية.  
( ) مدرسة عربية خاصة.  
( ) مدرسة يهودية حكومية.  
( ) مدرسة يهودية خاصة.  
( ) مدرسة اجنبية خاصة.  
( ) مدرسة خليطة من اليهود والعرب.  
( ) غيره: \_\_\_\_\_

(20ب) لماذا اخترت أو كنت ستختار هذا نوع من المدارس؟  
(قد يكون أكثر من جواب واحد صحيحاً).

- ( ) بسبب مستوى التعليم.  
( ) بسبب اللغة.  
( ) سبب مالي.  
( ) بسبب التربية.  
( ) سبب آخر: \_\_\_\_\_

(21) كيف معرفتك باللغة العربية العامية واتقانها؟

التفاهم: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكلام: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

(22) كيف معرفتك باللغة العربية الفصحى واتقانها؟

التفاهم: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكلام: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

القراءة: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكتابة: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

(23) كيف معرفتك باللغة العبرية واتقانها؟

التفاهم: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكلام: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

القراءة: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكتابة: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

(24) كيف معرفتك باللغة الانكليزية واتقانها؟

التفاهم: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكلام: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

القراءة: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

الكتابة: لا شيء 1 2 3 4 5 بطلاقة

(25)

- هل يوجد معجم "عربي-عربي" في بيتك؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا
- هل يوجد معجم "عبري-عربي" في بيتك؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا
- هل يوجد معجم "عربي-عبري" في بيتك؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا
- هل يوجد معجم "عربي-انكليزي" في بيتك؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا
- هل يوجد معجم "عبري-انكليزي" في بيتك؟ ( ) نعم ( ) لا

(26) هل تلفظ بالحروف "לא" أو "א" عندما تتكلم اللغة العبرية؟

- ( ) نعم, دائما.  
( ) أحيانا.  
( ) نعم, إذا استعمل كلمة أو عبارة عبرية عندما أتكلم العربي.  
( ) لا اعرف.  
( ) لا, أبدا

(27) من فضلك, اقرأ الجمل التالية وضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يعكس رأيك فيها.

- (أ) توجد كلمات عبرية لا توجد كلمات عربية لها نفس المعنى. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (ب) أحيانا استعمل كلمة عبرية بدلا من العربية عندما اتكلم العربي لأن الكلمة العربية يعتبر أكثر رسميا. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (ج) تشير استعمال الكلمات الانكليزية في كلام اللغة العربية إلى الثقافة الواسعة. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (د) أحيانا استعمل كلمة عبرية عندما اتكلم العربي لأنني لا اعرف الكلمة بالعربي. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (هـ) من يتكلم اللغة العبرية من غير النطق بالحروف " لا " و"א" له مكانة أعلى ممن يتكلم اللغة العبرية بالنطق بها. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (و) أحيانا استعمل كلمات عبرية عندما اتكلم العربي بسبب العادات. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (ز) دائما احاول ألا استعمل كلمات عبرية عندما اتكلم العربي. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق
- (ح) يعتبر استعمال الكلمات الانكليزية في كلام اللغة العربية غريبا. لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق

(ط) أحيانا استعمال كلمة عبرية بدلا من العربية عندما اتكلم العربي  
لأن استعمال الكلمة العربية يعتبر غريبا.

لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق

(ي) اللغة العبرية بالنطق بالحروف " لا " و " ן " أجمل من اللغة العبرية من غير النطق بها.

لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق

(ك) من المهم أن تستعمل اللغة الفصحى كي لا تختفي عن الحياة العامة.

لا أوافق 1 2 3 4 5 أوافق

(28) من فضلك, ضع "×" جنب اللغة التي في رأيك تناسب الجملة.

أ) استعمال هذه اللغة دلالة على الهوية.	( ) العبري	( ) الفصحى	( ) الانكليزي	( ) العامية
ب) تشير معرفة هذه اللغة إلى النجاح المالي.	( ) العبري	( ) الفصحى	( ) الانكليزي	( ) العامية
ج) تشير معرفة هذه اللغة إلى المكانة العالية في المجتمع.	( ) العبري	( ) الفصحى	( ) الانكليزي	( ) العامية
د) تسهل معرفة هذه اللغة للحصول على العمل.	( ) العبري	( ) الفصحى	( ) الانكليزي	( ) العامية
هـ) هذه اللغة أجمل اللغات.	( ) العبري	( ) الفصحى	( ) الانكليزي	( ) العامية
و) تشير معرفة هذه اللغة إلى الثقافة الواسعة.	( ) العبري	( ) الفصحى	( ) الانكليزي	( ) العامية

أشكرك على المساعدة





## Appendix B: Results of the Questionnaire

The following codes are used:

H= Hebrew, SA= Standard Arabic, V= Vernacular, E= English, H&A= Mix of Arabic and Hebrew, A&E= Mix of Arabic and English, A-L =Arabic written with Latin Letters, E-A=English written with Arabic letters.

10) Which language do you use when you speak with your Arab friends about daily issues?

H	SA	E	V	H&A	A&E	V+A&E	H+V+H&A	H+V	H&A+A&E
2	0	0	15	15	0	2	1	2	1

11) If you speak Arabic without the use of Hebrew when speaking with your Arab friends about daily issues, it is considered:

Strange	Normal	More formal	Positive	Strange and positive	(Difficult)
7	19	4	5	2	1

12) Which language do you use when you speak with your Arab friends about/at<sup>1</sup> work or studies?

H	V	H&A	A&E	V+A&E	SA+V	H+V+E+SA	H+V	H&A+A&E	V+H&A	SA&V
1	9	17	0	1	1	1	3	2	2	1

13) If you speak Arabic without the use of Hebrew when speaking with your Arab friends, about /at studies or work, it is considered:

Strange	Normal	More formal	Positive	Strange and positive	(Difficult)
5	21	5	4	2	1

14 A (b) If you are walking in the streets of Haifa or Jaffa, and you ask strangers for directions, what language do you use?

H	V	H&A	V+A&H	H+V+ H&A	H+V	H+H&A	Depends who is asked
13	2	8	3	1	7	2	2

---

<sup>1</sup> C.f. 5.4.1.1.

14B (ب) Why do you use this language when speaking with strangers in Haifa and Jaffa?

This is the easiest language for me to use in this situation	3
This is the most used language in this situation	11
In order that everyone understands	13
It is important to use it in order for it not to disappear from public life	0
The usage of this language is a identity marker	0
The use of another language seems strange in this situation	0
Other reason ( mother tongue, depends who is asked)	3
Id. Marker + its use important	1
Its use important, so everybody understands	1
Other language considered strange, so everybody understands, most used	1
Easiest, most used	1
Most used, id. Marker, its use important	1
Easiest, most used, so everybody understands	1
No answer	2

15) What language do you use when you write a personal letter to an Arab person?

H	SA	E	V	A&H	A&E	V+SA	H+SA	H+E	H+V+E	E+SA	H+E+V+SA	No answer
4	15	2	3	0	0	6	3	1	1	1	1	1

16) In which language do you usually read the daily newspaper?

H	A	H+A	E	A+E+H	Other
16	9	8	3	1	1

17 A (أ) Which language do you use in E-mail, SMS and Chat, when writing to an Arab person?

H	SA	E	V	A-L	A-L+ V+E	A-L+ V	H+ E+ V	E+V	A-L+ E	A-L+ E-A+ A&H	H+E+ V+SA	H+SA	V+ SA	H+E	H+V	H+V+ E+ A-L
9	1	5	2	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1

17B (ب) Why do you use this language when you write E-mail, SMS or Chat with an Arab person?

This is the easiest language for me to use in this situation	14
This is the most used language in this situation	8
In order that everyone understands	1
I should use it to improve my proficiency in it.	1
It is important to use it in order for it not to disappear from public life	0
The usage of this language is a identity marker	1
Another language is considered strange	0
There is no Arabic letters on my machine	2
Most used, so everybody understands	1
Easiest, most used,	3
Easiest, most used, so everybody understands	2
So everybody understands, no Arabic letters on my machine	1
Easiest, So everybody understands	1
Easiest, Id. marker	1
Other	2

18) Which language do you prefer  
in dubbed movies?

H	E	V	Other	None	H+V	H+E
5	6	18	2	7	1	1

19) Which language do you prefer  
in subtitles?

H	SA	E	Other	None	E+SA	H+SA
19	11	4	1	1	1	1

20 A (أ) Which type of school did you, or would you choose for your children?

Arab Public School	1
Arab Private School	20
Jewish Public School	0
Jewish Private School	2
Foreign Private School	5
Mixed Jewish-Arab School	5
Private Arab or Private Foreign	1
Private A, Public A, Mixed	1
Private A, Private F, Mixed	1
None	2

20 B (ﻡ) Why did you or would you choose this type of school?

Level of education	5
Language	1
Financial reasons	0
Cultural	6
Other	2
Level of edu., culture	7
Edu, lang.culture	9
Edu, financial	1
Edu., language	4
None	2
Lang. culture	1

21) How is your proficiency in and knowledge of *‘āmmiyya*?

	1(None)	2	3	4	5(Fluent)
Understanding	0	0	2	4	32
Speaking	0	0	2	3	33

22) How is your proficiency and knowledge of *fuṣḥā*?

	1(None)	2	3	4	5(Fluent)
Understanding		2	7	7	22
Speaking	4	2	8	11	13
Reading	1	1	2	6	28
Writing	1	1	8	9	19

23) How is your proficiency in and knowledge of Hebrew?

	1(None)	2	3	4	5(Fluent)
Understanding	0	0	3	6	29
Speaking	0	0	1	8	29
Reading	0	0	0	6	32
Writing	0	0	1	11	26

24) How is your proficiency in and knowledge of English?

	1(None	2	3	4	5(Fluent)
Understanding	0	2	11	13	12
Speaking	0	3	13	15	7
Reading	0	1	13	6	18
Writing	2	5	9	9	13

25) Do you have the following types of dictionary at home?

	Yes	No	No answer
A-A	31	6	1
A-H	26	10	2
H-E	30	8	0
H-A	33	4	1
A-E	28	9	1

26) Do you pronounce the letters /ʔ/ and /ħ/ when you speak Hebrew?

Yes, always	Sometimes	Yes, if I use an Arabic word or expression	I do not know	No, never	No answer
18	11	2	0	6	1

27 A (أ) There are Hebrew words which have no equivalent in Arabic.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
15	3	4	2	14

27 B (ب) Sometimes I use a Hebrew word instead of an Arabic word because the Arabic word is considered more formal.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
17	3	4	6	10

27 C (ج) The use of English words in Arabic points to high culture.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)	No answer
15	6	8	4	4	1

27 D (د) I sometimes use a Hebrew word when I speak Arabic because I do not know the Arabic word.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
10	3	2	10	13

27 E (هـ) Those who speak Hebrew without /ʕ/ and /ħ/ have a higher social status than those who do.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)	No answer
25	3	5	1	2	2

27 F (ف) I sometimes use Hebrew words when speaking Arabic because of habit.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
9	6	4	8	11

27 G (ج) I always try to avoid using Hebrew words when I speak Arabic.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
7	6	5	5	15

27 H (ح) The use of English words when speaking Arabic is considered strange.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)	No Answer
9	4	9	4	11	1

27 I (ط) Sometimes I use Hebrew words instead of the Arabic because the Arabic word is considered strange.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
25	3	5	1	4

27 J (ي) Hebrew with the pronunciation of the letters /ʕ/ and /ħ/ is more beautiful than Hebrew without the pronunciation of them.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)	No answer
14	3	7	4	8	2

27 K (ك) It is important to use SA in order for it not to disappear from public life.

1(Disagree)	2	3	4	5(Agree)
7	1	2	6	22

28 A (١) The use of this language points to identity.

H	SA	E	V	SA+V	No answer
0	12	1	15	8	2

28 B (٢) Proficiency in this language indicates economic success.

H	SA	E	V	SA+V	H+SA+E+V	E+H	No answer
1	2	12	2	2	2	3	14

28 C (٣) Proficiency in this language indicates high social status.

H	SA	E	V	SA+V	E+V	SA+E+V+H	SA+E	H+E+SA	No answer
1	12	8	1	1	1	2	3	1	8

28 D (٤) Proficiency in this language makes it easier to get a job.

H	SA	E	V	H+V	H+E	SA+E+V+H	SA+E+V	No answer
7	0	15	1	1	11	1	1	1

28 E (٥) This is the most beautiful language.

H	SA	E	V	SA+V	SA+E+V	SA+E+V+H	SA+E	No answer
1	19	4	6	4	1	1	1	1

28 F (٦) Knowledge of this language indicates high culture.

H	SA	E	V	H+SA+E	SA+E+V	SA+E+V+H	H+V	SA+E	No answer
2	14	6	1	2	2	4	1	5	1



## Appendix C: Interview guide

- 1) What was the educational language of your primary school, and secondary school?
- 2) In which language do you prefer to write lecture notes?
- 3) If it were possible to write the papers in Arabic, which language would you prefer to write them in? Why?
- 4) Do you sometimes use Hebrew words or expressions when speaking with Arab friends?
- 5) Are there, in your opinion, words or expressions in Hebrew which does not exist in Arabic with the same meaning?
- 6) How do you know which language to speak to strangers in the street of Haifa or Jaffa?
- 7) Do you use /ʔ/ and /ħ/ when you speak Hebrew?
- 8) Which language is, in your view, most important for your children? Why?
- 9) What kind of school (Arab/Jewish/ mixed, private/ public) do they, or would they go to? Why?
- 10) When you speak with someone from the West Bank or Jordan, or other Arab countries, do you have to change the way you speak? If so, how?
- 11) How do you think the reactions would be/ how are the reactions when you speak with your Arab friends without the use of Hebrew words and expressions?
- 12) Do you find it difficult to avoid speaking Arabic without the use of Hebrew words and expressions?
- 13) If you are happy or sad, in which language do you speak?
- 14) Which language do you prefer to use in typing, writing, reading, dubbing and subtitles? Why?
- 15) I have heard some say they do not know Arabic, what are your thoughts concerning this?
- 16) I have heard that if you speak Arabic without the use of Hebrew words and expression it is considered strange or formal by some, what are your thoughts concerning this?





